

A N
ADDRESS
OF
THANKS
TO A
Good Prince,

Presented in the
PANEGRICK
OF
PLINY upon *TRAJAN*,
THE
Best of Roman Emperours.

L O N D O N,
Printed for *Theo. Fickus*, and *William Hart*,
Bookfellers in *Oxford*. 1 6 8 6.



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THE PREFACE.

SINCE it is an impulse of Nature to celebrate that goodness by which we are influenc'd, and an universal instinct disposes to extoll our Benefactors ; since too the infinite obligations of providence have now made subjection our happiness, as much as Religion has always assign'd it our duty, and we have a Monarch so indulging, that our onely yoke is a pressure of inability to raise him a deserved commendation : It is obvious to reflect on this gratulatory Speech of Pliny, and to conclude that nothing pen'd at so wide a distance comes so nearly up for an application to our own times. For sure a gratitude for the comforts of an easie Government, and a recognisance of the merits of a gracious Prince were never more requisite, never more opportune. And would our Supreme Master be as patient to a just Harangue, as he once was to the most insolent Libels : Would he put up a

A 3 seeming

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seeming compliment with as much of unconcern, as he oft dispens'd with the most substantial affronts: no question but somewhat of this nature had been attempted. But we live so pure from a compulsion of inventing shams for flattery, that we must stifle some truths for fear of their being thought so. And a silence on this subject, where there be so many temptations to be eloquent, can upon that caution onely be accounted for. However what we dare not imitate, we may at least rehearse: And may apply a Translation where we must not venture at a like Original.

The occasion of this Dutifull Address was a motion of the Roman Parliament that there should be some solemn presentment of their thanks to the Emperour for his most Excellent manage of Affairs. This Form of their Allegiance they assign to be drawn up and in publick delivered by their most Honourable Member the Consul Pliny. He accepts the Province, and in a full House, the Emperour Himself being present, makes an elaborate Speech, and at the expence of three days in recital, sets it off with an admir'd elocution. This fluent draught he afterward on more composed thoughts review'd, corrected and enlarg'd, giving it up to a more spreading
pub.

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publication in that model, we have it now convey'd to us. The intent of it he assures us, was first a deserv'd commendation of the good Trajan, and then the offer of a kind of winning Lecture to future Princes, (not by way of assertory instructions, which he was sensible would have look'd saucy and pedantick) by recommending the best of Precedents to insinuate upon their imitation, which had a more taking semblance of modesty, and promis'd a stronger influence.

*The style of it in the primitive Latin (except in some more obscur'd passages, which in all likelihood the transmission only has corrupted) is incomparably correct and elegant, and so aptly garnished with unaffected figures, that * one of our best In-*

structours for Oratory illustrates and exemplifies most of his ornamental Tropes by instances drawn from this single Tract. In his method of descant he husbands each particular circumstance to the most complete advantage, and gently strains most of his occasional hints beyond their natural tendency, which, though an uncomely excrescence in familiar narration, is a confessed embellishment to a more free discourse. Our charity has motives to believe that his inducement hereunto was no jolly heat or

* Instructions concerning the Art of Oratory. Oxford 1682. 8° Second Edit. Sect. 3. p. 19.

rant of Loyalty, but a generous releasement of his very thoughts, a handsome Exer-citation upon what matter of fact prescrib'd, and every honest tongue could freely vouch. Tet some strokes are so flourishing that should they be transferr'd to a more justifying occasion, a disaffected moroseness would censure them for thick and luscious daubing.

*It is certain both the Subject and Language have been so well approv'd, that its confinement in the Roman dialect was long since envied, and a discovery to the English Reader made by the most ingenious Sir Robert Stapylton, * whose ashes can resent it as no affront, that we cast by his decent dress, and reinvest it (as presum'd) in a more modish garb. That learned Gentleman was a Critick at Translating, as the humour then prevail'd, which was a religious adherence to the turn of each original period, and a preferring the integrity of being close and exact before the tempting regards of a smoother cadence. But I think the measures of Rendering are by a practis'd consent since alter'd, and allowance is given as well for insertions to connect, where the sense would be otherwise abrupt or incoherent ; as for omissions to exclude what, though copious in one Tongue, would be redundant*

♥ Oxford.
1644.

dundant in another. A respect to the observance of these rules may justify this new attempt : For with nothing of reflexion on that Honourable Person we may modestly enough affirm, that he conforms so devoutly to the same phrase, deviates so little from the same dimensions of each sentence and expression, that he is sometime diffuse and copious, where it would better dispence with the smartness of being more acute ; and is at other times blunt and concise, where the memory by struggling to recollect the obscur'd sense would rather have it more express and intelligible. But farther, since that too accurate and precise performance, the Latin Copy by the emendations of the Sheldonian Press is vindicated from so many abruptions and entangling chasms, that it is far more fluent and easie, than any of the correctest Impressions could ever before absolve it. And therefore if some passages in the Original were harsh and corrupt, it was more excusable, though not more pleasing, that the transcript in those several fractures should be more rough and ambiguous. Add to this, the range and disposure of the former was one undivided continuance of delivery without any intermitting partitions, whereas here in compliance with the Oxford Edition (which did

* In his Edi.
of *Panegyrici*
veteres, Illu-
strated with
Notes for the
use of the
Dauphin, Pa-
ris, 1676. 4°

*did not first start the invention, but bor-
row'd the contrivance from * Jacobus de
la Baune) there be interpos'd at each con-
venient distance such numerary Sections,
which render the matter more methodical,
and gratefully relieve the patience of the
Reader.*

*The affinity of this Subject with the
happy circumstances of our own times seem'd
to invite a Parallel. And indeed there is
no one vertue here ascrib'd to a Roman Em-
perour, but what we can completely match in
a British Monarch. Nay the odds would
be vastly ours: For in the experience of
afflictions, in the fortitude of sufferance,
in lenity, prudence and other Royal Orna-
ments, most signally in a Justice above In-
terest or importunities, in a veracity be-
yond inconstancy or provocation, we want
a Precedent of past ages, and can dare the
longest Posterity to produce and offer a
Comparison. So that an endeavour of ma-
king the Parallel run exact would be an
injury to him, who is propos'd to complete
it. For to bestow on him all the Elogies
that are here assign'd, would scarcely fill
up one half of his Character: And should
we pursue a rehearsal of whatever might
be fairly imputed, the design would be
suspected not to rival but outvie, not to
equal,*

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equal, but excell: which though a justice on the one part, would be a seeming derogation on the other. It is therefore thought more convenient to refer the task of comparing for an exercise of recollection to the Reader.

And I challenge the most unthinking to light upon any one commendable quality here Recorded of a Foreign Hero, but what he shall immediately pronounce copied and surpass by our Native Monarch. A Monarch who by submission while a Subject, taught others to obey, and himself to command. Whose Patience, Generosity and Courage were never more the envy of the Factious, than the amazement of the Impartial, and the transport of the Loyal; whose Auspicious entrance to a Throne, assures the happiest progress, and merits the longest Establishment on it. A Monarch whose accomplishments are in each respect so admirable, that they surmount flattery, and defie the rankest malice. Whose Vertues are every way so illustrious, that they dazzle no less than enlighten: And (what his piety abhors) they almost threaten to eclipse the glories of his Royal Predecessour.

There is indeed one odd kind of vertue in Trajan which we care not should be honoured with imitation, and that is his wheedling

*wheeling of the Mobile by several little less than sneaking insinuations, which betray a too violent ambition of being popular, and imply that he chose rather to be a Fondling than a Master of his Subjects, which, however specious and alluring, tastes of a low Soul, and unhinges all Government, makes obedience and submission precarious, animates to claim as a debt whatever is in a good humour granted, and is in effect a resignation of all Authority on the one hand, and a dispensation for resistance on the other. A main specimen of this easiness in Trajan is his fine bravo * at the delivery of a Sword to the Captain of his Guards, Take this, and if I Govern well, use it for me : But if ill, against me. This generous charge two Republican Commentators are so much affected with, that one † of them thinks it a concession never enough to be commended; and the other, || good man is angry with the dull Pliny for being no more Rhetorical on so inviting a Topick, that he should give so slight a touch on an action, which, if set off to its due advantage, would alone suffice for a complete Panegyrick. That all commission'd Officers should draw their Swords in their Supreme General's defence, if he would be honest and orderly : But if imperious and abusive,*

* Sect. 67.

† Johannes
Maria Cata-
næus. Genev.
1643. 4°
p. 128.
|| Justus Lip-
sius Oxon.
1662. 12°
p. 196, 197.

*abusive, should brandish them to his Execution; ay! this was a piece of the Law of Nature, and always an inherent liberty of the Subject: But former Princes had been too shy and surly to own it, it was Trajan the Best, who would first make the concession: Nay pass that into an avow'd command, which in its utmost improvement before had been but a tacit allowance. This passage with other of like tendence were pertly cited, and very lovingly applied by that virulent * Preacher in*

King JAMES I. his Reign, who borrow'd his Notions of subjection from David Paræus, and so brought on the Commentaries of that Authour the mockery of Martyrdom. And the Reform'd Brethren of Scotland, who

*were never much additt'd to admire any thing that came from a Prince, were yet so mightily taken with this compliment of the Emperour's, that in the minority of a late Prince they stamp'd on their Coin the Impress of a Sword with that Motto. It was a more gudely precept for liberty than any their barren Gospel would afford: And though it was a Heathen rant from one Prince to a particular Subject, they would
adopt*

* See Dr. Peter Heylyn's *Cyprianus Anglicus: Or the History of the life and death of William Laud Arch. of Canterbury, &c.* London 1674 in Fol. Part 1. l. 2. under the year 1622. p. 88. 89. *Historia & Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis.* Oxon. 1674. fol. lib. 1. under the year 1622. p. 326, 327, &c.

adopt it for an universal Christian duty, and in such a case, devout Souls, for once they would obey for conscience

* Steph. Junii Bruti Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos, &c. Ursellis, 1600. 12° quæst. 3. p. 158. Anonymous Treatise De jure Magistratum in Subditos, &c. p. 217. annex usually to the former; both which very scandalous and pernicious pieces have been almost generally reputed to have been penn'd by Theod. Beza; although some, I know, have father'd the latter on his comrade Fran. Hottoman, the great Civilian. Grot. De jure belli ac pacis, &c. l. 1. c. 4. Sect. 6. Johannis Miltoni pro Populo Anglicano defensio, &c. Lon. 1651. 32° p. 176, 177. with many other.

† Joannis Adami Osiandri Jus belli ac pacis H. Grotii illustratum Tubingæ, 1671. 8° ad l. 1. c. 4. Thes. 6. Observatio, p. 552. Sam. Botharti Epistola Domino Morley adjecta Geogr. Sacræ, &c. Francof. 1674. 4° p. 54. Dr. Will. Falkner's Christian Loyalty, &c. Lond. 1679. 8° b. 2. c. 5. Sect. 1. Para. 8. Dr. Gabriel Tower'son's Explication on the Decalogue, &c. Lond. 1681. Fol. On the. V. Com. Part 7. p. 259. Sir George Mackenzie's Jus Regium, &c. Lond. 1684. 8° p. 50. Dr. W. Sherlock's Case of Resistance, &c. Lon. 1684. 8° c. 5. p. 171, 172. Besides Dr. William Howel, who barely mentions it; Institution of General History &c. L. 1680. Fol. Second Edi. b. 4. c. 5. p. 883.

*sake. Nay there has scarce been any one pestilent Libel teem'd to promote Anarchy and justify * Rebellion, but what has gloried in this Quotation and built upon it the consequence of an Arbitrary Submission, not longer to be practis'd than while no Oppressions or Grievances could be plausibly or indeed possibly complain'd of. Yet it must be confess'd that † learned Authours of a calmer temper have constantly given far more sober interpretations of this so unwary and inconsiderate a flourish. But whether this expression of Trajan were onely the stretch and effort of a complaisant humour; or no more than a figure to dress up his confidence of that Person's integrity to whom it was applied: Or whether (what's indeed the most plausible Salvo, yet argues*

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*argues a flight of generosity beyond discretion) it was a declaration of his fixt Resolves to govern well. We are sure if it be interpreted for a Serious instruction, for any practicable advice, nothing could more proclaim the unadvisedness of that Prince, because nothing more evacuates all the ties of Allegiance. For if Subjects must in truth no longer submit, than they confess themselves unopprest and honestly dealt with : But as soon as a little teas'd with any imaginary wrong (for they themselves are to be sole judges, or the principle has no consequence) may fly in the face of that Authority, which gives 'em the affront, and depose that power which they suspect will be too hard for 'em, is so rank a Tenet, that Treason, Tumult, Anarchy, Confusion, and all the licentious mischiefs of Earth and Hell would be its damning inference : The Prince being crush'd into the most helpless of slaves, and every peevish Incendiary prefer'd his Supremes Lord. It hurries on so violently to Seditions and Rebellion, that did the Romans believe they might doe what this direction to the Captain implied, and yet permit the Emperour, who authoris'd 'em with that privilege, to pass his one and twenty years Reign without any mutiny or insurrection : I say did the
Romans*

Romans suppose it to be serious advice, and yet never pervert it to the prejudice of him, who bestow'd it, nothing less can be inferr'd than (what is not handsome to own) that the Loyalty of Heathens surmounts that of the precisest Christians, since the one could be steadily obedient where they had in a manner leave to resist: And yet the other be so apt to rebell, where they have all the restrictions of Nature, Religion, and National Laws to submit and be quiet.

Nay had this soothing Prince deliver'd it as a licence to have himself chastis'd, yet by the frankest concession he could not have authoris'd the Captain's revolt. For it is even beyond the Prerogative of Supreme Powers to Legitimate Resistance, or endow their Subjects with a Charter to rebell. However valid unextorted Resignations and voluntary assents to deposition may be, yet 'tis certain no Sovereign Authority, while so continuing, can dispence any liberty for disobedience, or absolve from the crime of Treason, any more than my saying to another, I'll give you leave to kill me, would in justice acquit him from the guilt of Murther.

So that whatever acceptation it will bear, there is nothing more illogical, impertinent,

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pertinent, or absurd than to alledge it as an authentick plea for Subjects by force to amend the suspected irregularities of their Governours: yet to this use have a great many late Demagogues most pertly applied it in challenge and defiance to all the evident restrictions of Nature's and Religion's Laws. Some from hence inferring a right of Resistance as a property of each the most inferiour member of Societies: Others by a modester (though no less mischievous) retrench confining it to the subordinate Magistrates, whose Office is pretended to empower 'em for a defence of the peoples liberties, though in expresse opposition to that Superiour, who deputed 'em.

After all, the most natural deduction, which I conceive this passage capable of, is this, that such flashes of good nature in a Prince may be of very hurtfull consequence, they prostitute his honour, Alienate his Authority, and make all the rabble an execrable High Court of Justice. Hence I wonder'd at always and condemn'd the inconsiderateness of those Authours, who, though they would interpret it to no disloyal tendence, yet have wink'd at the consequence they are presum'd to detest, and have onely extoll'd this saying for the noble sally of a resolute, undaunted, and

a

Heroick

Heroick Soul. Whereas 'tis at the best but an unwary vapour, an indigested flant of popularity, to the quest whereof this Prince was too abundantly addicted, as is farther conspicuous in several other of his demeanours remark'd in the following harangue: Particularly in the LVI. Sect. where Pliny seems to intimate that Trajan had submitted himself to Govern upon the strange and unheard-of-terms of the Prince being above the Laws, but the Laws above the Prince: Which destroys the prime and fundamental Prerogative of Princes, their being unaccountable to any but God, and was the very Principle our late Regicides proceeded on. It is true, if that specious Maxim be meant onely of the pre-eminence of the Laws in a bare directive and regulative power, it is what sober men have always own'd, and wise Princes have as duly practis'd; but if it must be understood (as the occasion and coherence in Pliny intimate) of a coercive, and vindicative power to be exercis'd on Supreme Governours; whenever their Subjects shall adjudge 'em guilty of the breach of those Laws, which they have oblig'd themselves by oath to observe: It debases the Prince beneath the vilest Malefactours, and exposes his Person to the worst of Butcheries:

For

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For though it proclaims not an impunity to a private Assassinate, yet it ascertains the Murther, and enhances the ignominy, by justifying a formal execution.

These strictures upon the uncautious humour of Trajan I have thought fit to premise from an hearty aversness to whatever plausible pretences may instigate to Sediti-
on. Such little improvident deliveries are as poisonous as the rankest of downright positions, nay they be more fatal, because trick'd up in a more specious guise, where the venome in being less discern'd is the more palatably imbib'd, and spreads its infection with the greater defiance to Art and Antidote. So that if this censure obviate all farther contagion, it is what my honest endeavours sincerely aim at, and what my prayers shall never be wanting to promote.

Yet after this reflexion on the easiness and indecent compliances of Trajan I must doe him so much justice as to confess, that he was judicious enough to foresee the mischiefs of his hanging on the peoples courtesie; and therefore whenever any independent danger threatned, he vindicated his dignity from all encroachments, and sharply quell'd all the assaults of faction, as is evident in several occurrences of his

Reign, more eminently in his exemplary justice on those Rebels, who disturb'd his Predecessours peace, Casperius and his Pretorians, who protested against Nerva's pardon of Domitian's Murtherers, and Convenanted to bring 'em all to a condign punishment : Yet without any injury to the Person of their Prince ; but for all this winning and pious pretext, Trajan sends for 'em, and amidst their hopes of excuse and preferment, executes the Leader and principal followers : To which just vengeance the happiness of his remaining years is more to be attributed than to any Clemency or sparing Indulgence.

And now I ask the Reader no other mercy, but that when he has run through this Character of a Roman Emperour, he would bless the Divine Providence for living under the protection of a more Gracious Monarch, who wants nothing but the united Allegiance of his Subjects to make him Happier than Augustus, since Heaven's and his own goodness have already made him even Better than Trajan.

TO
THE HONOURABLE
Sir WILLIAM GLYNNE
OF AMERSDEN in the
County of Oxford Baronet,
His Highly Honoured Patron.

Hon. SIR,

M*Y* adorning these Pa-
pers with your worthy
Name, is not a meer design of
getting them the more plausibly
recommended to the world, but
in great measure the reaching
at an opportunity to discharge
some awful sense of gratitude :
For in truth I am utterly impa-
tient of being so generously ob-
lig'd, without pressing on a so-
lemn

THE EPISTLE

lemn occasion to proclaim it. Your late uncorrupted Patronage can scarce deserve a more hearty acknowledgment, than my duty prompts, and my very soul inclines to pay. That so free a bounty should descend, where there was but barely the confidence to beg, and your favours be vouchsafed without the slenderest title to expect them, can be resolved into nothing better than an Heroick gallantry, that proposes doing good, meerly for the sake of its own reflexion. I should not possibly contain from a much larger devoir, if I did not stand assured

DEDICATORY.

assured, that after your colla-
ting of the most acceptable Be-
nefit, you deem it no less an op-
pression to be zealously thank'd,
than before the grant you feel
it an uneasiness to be warmly
importuned. However I pre-
scribe my self an honest method
of attempting to raise a tribute
for your obligations, and that
is, a conscientious discharge of
that Province, your Right of
disposure has assigned me; which
I am sure your concern for the
promotion of Piety will inter-
pret as no disingenuous return,
and is indeed the only way of
gratifying can be fastned on
your

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your integrity. Nor do I question the success of my endeavours herein, while with comfort I foresee how much your influence must needs contribute, by enforcing with your prevalent Example all my weaker Admonitions to Devotion, Sobriety, Charity and Obedience. On the delightful prospect of this happy event, I divert, from the professions of a past engagement, to the submissive request of a farther courtesie, and that is, to shelter and protect this following Harangue from the exceptions of the froward, and the censures of

DEDICATORY.

of the witty. I know that to authorize a petty labour by crowding it on the tutelage of a great Man, is like the vanity of those who prostitute a mighty Name for the vouching of an impertinent tale. But whatever discouragement might have stifled this appeal to your Authority, there want not some motives that may tolerably account, perhaps atone, for the confidence of it: For this Laudatory Address being rendred from that authentick Language wherein you are so accurately skilled, I may not only sollicite you for a Friend, but refer to you

THE EPISTLE

as a Judge of the performance, and if You, Sir, would approve, it would be too bold a Criticism in any else to condemn. For you are an unquestion'd Master in the proprieties of either Speech, and can so pierce into the genuine and unpresumed sense of the primitive Author, that you could have obliged us with a much politer Version, if your admirable faculty at Translating the Roman virtues, had not lifted you above the drudgery of so dealing with the Roman Tongue. But farther, however unsuitable this puny attempt of mine may be to the
Grandeur

DEDICATORY.

Grandeur of the Argument, yet the affinity of its Subject to your glorious Principles is enough to excuse, and even justify, the Dedication. For to whom can a Declaration of Loyalty be more pertinently addrest, than to him who so resolvedly lives over the Contents of it? Or to whom can the Praises of a Monarch be so meritoriously presented, as to Him, who even talks Panegyrick whenever he mentions his Prince?

That all the pleasing Accommodations of this life, and the unsullied Joys of a better, may now, and hereafter, refresh

THE EPISTLE &c.

*fresh and Crown your deserving
Self, your most agreeable and
exemplary Lady, your hope-
ful and imitating Issue, espe-
cially the accomplisht Heir of
your Titles and Vertues, shall
be ever the unslackened Pray-
ers of*

Y O U R,

Most Obliged, and

Obedient Servant

W H I T E K E N N E T.

THE
LIFE
OF

Caius Plinius Cæcilius Secundus.

THAT the Lives of illustrious Authours should be a *Preface* to their Works, custome has not made more fashionable, than use does requisite: For after all the Philosophick advice to weigh the value of what is said, without any poize from the authority of the Speaker, a reception (though not the Nature) of truths depends much on the

Character of him, who delivers them : So that the same Argument, manag'd to the same advantage, shall by a respect to the Writer, be oblig'd with attention and caress, or else by a misconception be prejudg'd to scorn and neglect. The consequence of this must farther be, that those drudges for the publick, whose names and repute are yet obscure, ought in policy to lie conceal'd, lest their meanness, when discover'd, prejudice their attempts : While of such again, whose open esteem can secure an acceptance of whatever they deal in, it is their prudence to own their endeavours, and it is their interest, as much as honesty, to legitimate their Issue, where the dignity of the Parent will be entail'd on the offspring. This
justifies

justifies our brave Roman, that while living he dar'd Father what ever was the result of his manly wit; and this accounts for the greater convenience of prefixing his Life, since a knowledge of his deserts will be sure to put an estimate on his labours. Most of the learned Worthies of past generations have by a later piety been thus reviv'd, as far as a groping after their reliques would permit: But alas many were interr'd so deep, so dark, that even their ruines were perish'd, and the utmost diligence could recover but few of their remains. This unhappiness is abundantly redress'd in the memory of our present Authour, who in his Epistles has left us such copious memorials of his life and temper, that from thence
alone

alone there wants nothing but a method to collect as full an account of him, as is necessary to bestow, or natural to desire.

He was born *An. Chris. 62. U. C. 815.* At *Novo-Comum* a Town of *Italy*, eminent for nothing so much, as for being the place of nativity to so great a Man, who we presume esteem'd it afterward no scandal to have peep'd into the World from so obscure a part of it, but thought it rather noble to shed a lustre on his birth place, than to derive a glory from it. However by his gratefull munificence it was soon made more populous and remarkable, by the encouragement he there gave to Inhabitants, in the Erecting of a publick School liberally endow'd, with a Library adjoyning so
com-

competently furnish'd, that no question it invited a choice resort.

He was the Son of *L. Cæcilius* by a Sister of *Pliny* the Natural Historian. He lost his Father while young, who, for ought we know, left him no other Legacy, but that of a good example. His widow'd Mother destitute of the helps of Education delivers him up to his learn'd and wealthy Uncle, who yet resolv'd, if degenerate in vertue, not to own him allied in blood: This trial was soon made, and our Eaglet stood the test. For by a vigilant observance of his inclinations and deportment, the old Gentleman was so well satisfi'd, that by the custome of their Laws he adopted him into a nearer Relation, and at his death (occasion'd by the eruptions of *Vesuvius*) left him

him heir of his Name and fortunes. But before this casualty he had been very provident for the breeding his Nephew. He assign'd him first to *Quintilian* that Master of Eloquence, who transfus'd into him all those precepts, which hitherto so richly oblige the World, and he found him so quick, so tractable, that he never saw reason to spur his industry or amend his apprehension; he had in him the luscious comfort of a docile learner, and the onely danger was lest his jealousies might have curb'd that forwardness he was surpris'd at, and made him inclinable to suspect, that from his Scholar he would soon commence his Rival. But he prefer'd his duty before any envious regards, and, it is certain, did not onely initiate him

him in the Elements of that Art he profess'd, but laid him in directions for the methodizing of all his future studies, which the obedient Pupil so embrac'd, that when emancipate from his more immediate discipline, he still copied his prescriptions, and conform'd to that model, which was set him by so able an Architect: As appears particularly from his so often running through the Decads of *Livy*, which was a task no question advis'd him by his great Instructor, who always betray'd a singular affection for this Authour, and in his most excellent Institutions recommends him as most worthy of a repeated perusal.

When thus lectur'd in Rhetorick, he was now ripe for a course in Philosophy, and to enter

ter upon this under as expert a guide, as he had attain'd the former, he was given up to the tuition of *Nicetes* a learned Priest, who was to make him both honest and devout; such was the discipline of that polite age, that a being principled in Religion was one of the chief accomplishments of a Gentleman; and though all was no better than Idolatry and Romance, a being vers'd in their sacred rites was not esteem'd a fit knowledge for an Augur onely, much less was the being moulded into strict and pious thought prejudicial in the depresso of their spirits, in the souring of their humours, or in the spoiling of their complaisance.

Under his government he made so good a proficiencie, that
his

his Uncle with joy perceiv'd he was fitted both for years and learning to reap the advantages, and conquer the inconveniences, of a foreign travel, which he knew well was a completing piece of Education, if the Itinerant was of age and discretion not to hug novelties, not to ape customs, but to collect remarks, and then digest them, to observe, to reflect, to compare, and to better his judgment by a residence abroad, rather than burthen his memory for ostentation at return. With these hopes he dispatch'd him to *Syria*, which was then as much the common Mart of Literature, as *Egypt* had been before. Yet here the wary old Uncle would not trust him with a disposal of his own time, but left too great a leasure
might

might expose him to such temptations, which he should be too idle to resist, he provides him an employ, and lifts him a young Volunteer; where yet he serv'd as if arms were to be his diversion, not his trade; and therefore he was oft allow'd leave to retire from the camp to his studies, in which he had the most eminent Directour those Countries could afford, the fam'd *Euphrates*, whose Lectures he devoutly heard, and was possibly the greatest encourager, if not the sole motive, of his after remove to *Rome*. Him he honour'd, and admir'd, and gives him this Character to a friend, that his aspect was all gravity, without the slightest dash of founness, which commanded a respect, yet impos'd no terrour; in discourse
he

he was both copious and acute, in his instructions strict and serious, yet always easie, affable, and skill'd at such a winning force, that he could lead the rational, and even draw the obstinate, he could chastise an error without correcting the deluded, he could reform without censure, and amend without reproof: Nay he had such an obliging knack at persuasive, that the mistaken took a pleasure to be his Converts, and even wish'd to be again satisfied, after they were fully convinc'd.

When by a visit of the most remarkable places, an observance of their policy, and a mastery of the language, he had completely answer'd the design of his mission, he prepares to depart, and laded with those accom-

(b) plish-

plishments, which are the richest Cargo of a Traveler, he returns to his expecting Friends; but e'er a long abode with his Mother and Uncle, he looses the latter, and thereby at eighteen years of age succeeds to a plentiful estate. Among other Legacies, that which he most priz'd was 160 Volumes of his Uncle's Works, fill'd up in the margin, and wrote on the very covers all by his own hand, for which when their number was somewhat less, he had in *Spain* been offer'd four Hundred Thousand Sesterces: The compiling of these argued him an indefatigable Student, and being so severe an accounter for his own time, he might less invidiously urge others to an improvement of theirs, which his Nephew assures us was his
con-

constant humour; he was always a Lecturing him into industry, and was so impatient of his least remissions from study, that seeing him one day walking (and possibly intent on a recollection of what he had lately read) he chid him for so idle a diversion, and sharply told him he might be better employ'd. So that this method of a sedentary intenseness might probably first have been taken up by our young Student out of a design to oblige the old man, till it past from a constrain'd custome to a voluntary habit, from an assiduous practice to a settled inclination. It is worth the pains to relate that he gave one notorious instance of it: When his Uncle at *Micene* in a surprize at the inflammation of *Vesuvius* was sailing out to take

(b) 2 a near-

a nearer prospect of the danger, he comes and asks his Nephew to accompany him in that, which prov'd his last Voyage, but he bluntly waves the invitation, and very fairly tells him, he had rather continue at his Books : Though he durst not without doubt have been so rough to one, whose years might suppose him peevish, and yet whose favour it was so much his interest to retain, if he had not foreseen it would be so far from being resented as a contempt or affront, that it would be the most taking complement, he could possibly return.

He had not been long entred upon his new inheritance, before his resolves of settlement were directed to *Rome*, where he fix'd his residence, not because the
Town

Town and the Court might be most opportune for a stage of pleasure and diversion, but that he thought here the most advantageous platform to build up his future fortunes. And therefore he would not be flush'd into Spark nor Gallant, but sensible that the best husbandry of his Revenues, would be the purchase of a good name, he toil'd so hard in retirements, and relax'd himself so well in company, that he soon gain'd the repute of a smart and solid Gentleman. The most early specimen of his parts he had given in the composition of a Greek Tragedy at fourteen years of age, wherein he so happily approv'd himself in the proper Genius of sublime, in the true Air of the buskin, that he superviv'd his years, and in his nonage wrote

man by the best Periphrasis. A success in this soon heated him on to fresh attempts, and in his Voyage from *Cyria* about seventeen he falls upon Latin Elegiacs on the *Icarian* Sea, which we need not doubt were soft and smooth. But he knew these were juvenile sports, which it would be fatal to be addicted to, and therefore when he had enough for bare accomplishment, resolv'd to make no employ of what had poverty and affectation entail'd for a curse, he was not so fond of the Beggar or the Fop, but that he steer'd his endeavours to a more honourable Port, and applies himself to a study of the Civil Law: In this he soon commenc'd so hopefull a Proficient, that upon a short preparation he was ripe for the Bar, and before twenty appear'd

pear'd for his Client in the Roman *Forum*, where his pleadings were so connect, and his delivery so becoming, that there was scarce afterward any cause of moment, wherein he was not by one of the parties retain'd.

From the *Forum* he advanc'd to the Senate, and could argue before that august assembly with as much courage, as he had done in the more Inferiour Courts. And here he was engag'd in several of the most important concerns, as the management of the *Spaniards* charge against *Bebius Massa*, the prosecuting another of their informations against *Cæcilius Classicus*, the defence and acquitment of *Julius Bassus* and *Varenius*, and what was the most eminent, he open'd the impeachment of *Marius Priseus* Procon-

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ful of *Africa*, charg'd by his province of bribery and extortion, in the urging of this he was so brisk and resolute, nay so eager and intent, that the kind Emperour more than once order'd the Freeman to whisper and advise his Master that he should not injure his Lungs, nor drain his Spirits, nor overcharge his constitution, however with humble thanks for the caution, he zealously proceeds, and so exposes the case, that the Senate confest themselves infinitely satisfied, and the Criminal was sentenc'd to perpetual banishment.

He was too eminent to be thought useless, and therefore his Countrey soon propos'd to experience his abilities in some more publick Station. Hence he was honour'd with a Commission to
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supervise the repairs of the *Æmilian* way. He was a splendid Pretor for the City: A zealous Tribune for the people: A faithfull Questor for the Emperour: A Prefect of the Treasury for the State: And an Augur for the Gods. But his most active preferments were his Proconsular dignity in *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, and his Consulship at *Rome*. In the former (which was last executed) he held a constant correspondence with his Imperial Master *Trajan*, and took all his measures from his advice, which he conform'd to, with so much of resolution and dispatch, that he won on the affections of his Province, countermin'd the malice of his Enemies, and for ever secur'd the favour of his Prince.

It was from hence he dated
that

that generous Testimony and Character he gave the Christians. For it being the mistake of *Trajan*, that this growing Sect would interrupt and disturb the peace of his Empire, he had given instructions to all his Ministers to suppress them by a smart persecution. Our Proconsul knew these orders must be obey'd through the extent of his Jurisdiction; yet he thought it not impertinent to give his honour'd Lord some account of the humours and behaviour of the Men, before he went on to the extremest rigour. In this description we may be sure he spoke as a candid Relatour, not as a biased Friend: And indeed the danger of being partial was on the other hand; for he abhorr'd the scandal of leaning to that *new superstition*, and he wrote

wrote to one, whom it was
manners to sooth, which yet
he could not better doe, than
by confirming that prejudice,
he had so devoutly enterain'd.
But maugre these inducements,
it was his honour to speak the
truth, and it was his Loyal Ma-
ster's Vertue to hear it. He
therefore declares, that *their onely*
crime, or rather mistake, was that
they assembled before day to sing a
form of devotions to Christ their
God, where they bound themselves
by Sacrament, yet not to violate
the Roman Laws, not to perpetrate
any villanies, but to avoid Theft,
Robbery, Adulteries and breach of
Faith. When they had done this,
they never spent their thoughts to
Conspire, or Caball; but march'd
quietly off to their respective homes.
And this so much calm'd the ex-
aspe-

asperated *Trajan*, that he remitted his passion, and return'd answer, that *they should not be held in, nor inquir'd after, but if by others prosecuted should have Justice, and a fair Trial.* Yet was this a concession he would never have made, had he not been fully convinc'd that they were neither seditious, nor disloyal, as he at first surmis'd. For indeed there was no one Emperour more provident in crushing the growth of Faction : * As will appear by this single instance. *Pliny* had petition'd him, that there might be a Corporation of * Mechanics founded by Charter at *Nicomedia* : But the prudent Prince, though it seem'd but a trivial boon, and ask'd by such a favourite, whom he was not wont to deny, yet he gives him this one repulse,

repulse, and assign'd no other reason, than that *such Societies were always prone to Faction, and were the common nurseries of riotous and discontented spirits.*

When he had discharg'd his government with no unhappiness but that of envy, he comes back to *Rome*, and is comforted with an humble Address from his dependants, an hearty welcome from his Friends, and a Gracious Reception from his Prince. But precedent to this honourable employ abroad had been his Consulship at home; an Office which his tast'd art of conduct had proclaim'd him worthy of; so that, with no pause from his Prefectship of the Treasury, to this the Emperour recommends, and the people in duty accept him. And to sweeten the
en-

enjoyments of it, he was blest with a Colleague, who was Partner of his thoughts, as well as of his dignity, the good *Tertullus*. It was in these circumstances that he delivered his *Panegyrick*, in a full Senate, with a reverend aspect, and deliberate voice, it costing him three days to rehearse.

It was not from this instance onely, but from a long Series of Loyalty, that he was so ingratiate with his Prince, as upon an humble motion to procure any reasonable act of Grace. Yet he made use of this power not to advantage himself, but to prefer his Friend. And the Emperour, as found a Politician as any that flourishing State was ever Crown'd with, thought it no reflexion on his manage to have a potent favourite, and therefore let him command

mand what courtesies he pleas'd to entreat. His opportunities to serve his Dependants were by this means frequent, and the grants considerable. He got for his Physician *Harpocrates*, for *Cryspus*, and other Aliens, a freedom of *Rome*. He obtain'd for the children of *Antonia*, and other hopefull persons, the name and privilege of Gentlemen. He advanc'd *Sura* to the Pretorship, and his Chamber-fellow *Voconius* to several successive dignities.

Nor was it onely at the Emperour's cost, that he maintain'd his Friends; but where they were indigent and ready to accept, he would as freely spend from his own stock; wherein his bounty was always unconditionate, he never hook'd by civilities, nor tamper'd with his favours; yet
were

were his Largeſſes pretious and munificent. He ſetled on his decay'd Townſman *Caninius Rufus*, a handſome ſalary for encouragement and ſupport in a ſtudious life. He allow'd *Martial* a comfortable penſion to board him in a Countrey retirement. *Metilius Crispus* he ſent to a good military employ abroad, and gave him a round ſum at departure to bear his charges. To *Voconius Romanus* he gave three thouſand Seſterces to make him up a Gentleman's Eſtate; and to his Maſter *Quintilian*, at the Marriage of his Daughter, he ſent fifty thouſand Seſterces, as a portion for the decent Bride.

And thoſe he embrac'd for Friends were not his Neighbours and Relations onely, but all the moſt eminent of each faculty or ſcience.

science. Of Poets he had *Martial* and *Silius Italicus*, the first a Prince in Epigram, the second a Peer in Heroic. Of Historians he had both *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*, he took the former for a confident, and admitted the latter for a Companion. Of Civilians he pick'd out *Pomponius Saturninus*, *Arrianus*, and what others were the most celebrated Oracles of the Law. To these he open'd his Soul, and was as privy to all their concerns. He lov'd their persons, courted their society, and espous'd their interest, without any dirty reserves of craft or design.

His Estate was so conspicuous, and his conditions so endearing, that he was sure to be courted from the selfishness of a single life, an alteration of which was possi-

(c) bly

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bly more a compliance with the importunity of others, than any hurry of his own inclinations ; however he had choice of proffers and judgment to select the best. Of his first Wife we have but an obscure mention ; his second was *Calphurnia*, whom Dowry and Parentage render'd an equal match : Her he admitted to his heart as well as bed, and for an instance of his fondness, has left us a pair of uxorious yet chaste Epistles. It was the onely misfortune he ever complain'd of, that he could have no issue by either of them.

This unhappiness he contriv'd by the most availing method to repair ; for indeed (as far as this side of vanity would allow) he seem'd in nothing to betray a stronger *impetus* of desire, than
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to have his name and memory out-live his funeral, and therefore he got not onely a gratefull celebration from *Martial*, and by a hint of his own an honourable mention from *Tacitus*; but tempted eternity with many of his own Works, which deserv'd a longer duration, than most of them have met with. Beside his Greek Tragedy, and Elegies in his Voyage from *Syria*; he wrote a Tract of Hendecasyllables. Another of Demonstrative Orations. Some reflexions on the self-murder of *Helvidius*. A Catalogue of illustrious Men: (which yet some have thrown upon *C. Nepos*, and others (perhaps with most of justice) ascribe to *Aurelius Victor*.) A Collection of Epistles, and a *Panegyrick* on the Emperour. Of which the three
(c) 2 last

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last onely are rescued from that eating oblivion, which has swallow'd the other.

When he was cloy'd with the flatteries of the Town, he would oft retire to his Countrey seats, of which he had two most deliciously situate, the one his *Laurentine*, the other his *Tuscan Farm*; where in imitation of the primitive Consuls, and Dictatours, he read Nature in the cultivations of husbandry; and thought his Gentility so little soild hereby, that he gave a Waggon for his Coat of Arms.

We have better proofs how he liv'd, than when he died: We have a moral certainty for the one, but must be content with conjecture for the other. His last Epistles seem to be those from *Pontus* to the Emperour, and after

ter his giving up this honourable trust, we hear nothing considerable of his actions from himself, or any other Historian. It is recorded that his Royal Patron resign'd to death, about the year from our Saviour's birth (if *Eusebius* compute aright) 119, whom, it is likely, he had no great ambition to survive; and therefore we may presume he left the World soon after the loss of that comfort, which had been most effectual to have detain'd him in it. Yet some (I fantasie on more presumptuous grounds) date his death in the 12 of *Trajan's* Reign. It is sure that *Eusebius* then mentions the decease of a *Pliny*, but implies it of the *Seniour*.

After this prospect of his actions and employs, it will be a piety toward his ashes, and a diversion

to the vertuous, to present a more apparent view of his personal endowments : Especially, since from an easie pursuit of his own discoveries, there lies such an open road to meterials ; that there wants nothing, but a natural disposure, and a naked repetition.

In Rhetorick it is enough that he was Scholar to *Quintilian*, whose precepts he so well digested, that all his after composures were but a varied rehearsal of his Master's instructions. He gain'd not onely a fluent style, and a plausible delivery, which are but the Mechanism of Oratory ; but he had such an accurate *Idea* of things, knew so well their apt representment by words, and understood so completely the influence of each period on the soul ; that he still married his
expe-

expressions to his argument, always reconcil'd his Auditory to his subject, and never spoke, but to those passions he rais'd. He could instruct a Friend, that *an invention copious and a free elocution might haply be the talents of an illiterate confidence; but an orderly disposure, a due turn of figures, a critical mode of transition, and such other secrets of art, were onely acquirements of the laborious and learn'd.* Yet it was one of his Maxims, that *Use was the best Rhetorician*, he having known many, who had neither parts nor reading, yet by assiduous practice, *had talk'd often, till they spoke well.*

He was such an Artist at the variance of expressions, that almost in the same breath, he could be fuller and more acute, grave and flourishing, so that his cadencies

(c) 4

dencies made a dissonance of Musick being always unequal. His endeavours herein, by confession to a Friend, were that he might so contrive it, that by a different turning of periods he would have somewhat to affect the most singular relish of each peculiar palate. Yet where his subject requir'd a steady, even pace, he would never range, but keep devoutly to each Scheme of language, which is onely proper to each distinct composition. Undoubtedly he was an accurate Master of all styles, and seem'd most happy in the most difficult, that of sublime; for the exercise of which he had that argument, which the great *Longinus* implied to be most suitable, *Panegyrick*: Wherein he completely shun'd those vices, which so nearly ad-
joyn,

joyn, affectation and flatness. He could fly without soaring, and again walk without creeping. He could reach where it was proper, and stoop where it was more becoming. Laying down this as a measure and remark, that *as in picture the darker shadowing sets off no less, than the gaudier strokes; so in Oratory the seeming blurs, as well as flourishes, do proportion and adorn.* In others works (where he could prevail on his good Nature to censure) he would check the presumptuous, and chastise the coward, yet of the two, he more inclin'd to excuse the bold and daring, than the timorous and wary writer; and would forgive the too licentious torrent of a lofty, sooner than the stagnating shallows of a mean, style: Illustrating his
judg-

judgment herein by this most ingenious Metaphor, that *it was safer indeed to tread the humble valley, than to climb the craggy mount ; yet a slip was more unpardonable beneath, than a fall from above.* And therefore on a cold indifferent Oratour of his own times he past this facete jirk, that *he had no fault but one, and that was, that he had no fault.* His meaning he implied to be, that he had better have mounted, though with some tumbles, than tamely have swept the ground for a caution of falling no lower. Or that a bold occasional fall, though with misadventure, had been more laudable, than a continual sculk within the bounds of a safer refuge.

He was inclinable, yet not addicted, to Poetry, which tendency
some

some of his graver Friends stomach'd as a levity ; and were so kind, as to let him know their dislike. In reply whereto he was soon provided of excuse ; which yet he would not urge from the nature of the thing it self ; either its innocence as a diversion ; or its use, as an exaltment of the fancy : but he fled to example, as the modest, if not the more justifying method : And rehears'd a Catalogue of noble *Romans*, who, in their vacation from more serious affairs, had set the President : And with such company to err he thought no scandal : Especially since they were so eminent, that to imitate their recreations was no less a credit, than it was a duty to copy after their graver employs.

He was so inquisitive of past,
and

and so well acquainted with his own times; that he was accomplish'd no doubt as much for a Politician, as his Uncle was for a Natural Historian. And to this Province he was invited by one, who knew his abilities. Him he answers by Letter, and first confesses it a good office to record the illustrious; betrays a desire of perpetuating himself, by the eternizing of others: gives a taste of his being a Critick in Historick style; is cautious what times were most convenient to venture on, Ancient or Modern; the first were obscure, and more hard to account for; the latter were ticklish, and more hazardous to expose. However diligence should supply the one difficulty, and a good conscience the other: He would have the industry to be exact, and the courage to be faithfull. He therefore refers the
choice

choice to his Friend; and as he determin'd, he implies a resolve for either undertaking. But whether his Friend were too coy to impose him a task, or he himself was diverted from prosecuting his first intentions; we hear of nothing to this purpose, but a small Tract of Men famous for Military and Civil Government, which yet (if our faith hang upon some Criticks) we must not believe to be his, and indeed the imputation need not be envied any other.

In whatever he wrote, he was correct almost to superstition. He would not thrust, but send; not pour, but drop into the world all the messages of his pen. And indeed that nothing should come from him, as finish'd, but what was absolute and unexceptionable,

ble, is the less wonder, if we reflect what a judiciary trial all his pieces stood the verdict of, before they were dismiss'd to a good deliverance. For whatever he compos'd, he first himself perus'd and review'd: Then to bring the cadence and euphony to the test of his ears, he founded it distinctly; and lest his own voice might flatter him, he got it to be pronounc'd by another in his own Audience. After this he advis'd with two or three particular Friends: He then augments the club, and engag'd them all to except: Their corrections he again propounds to some few of the most judicious; and as they agreed, he alter'd and amended. After this discipline he rehears'd in a full Assembly; When upon the issue of their
free

free reproof, and his own new discovery, he gave the completing strokes, and left them proof against the virulence of teeth and tongue: Professing always to consider, *what a concern of moment it was to deliver any thing (as he phras'd it) into the hands of the publick,* and therefore he thought it a *prudence often to consult many, about what he desir'd might always please all.* This practice of imparting our attempts to so severe a scrutiny would either the ingenuoufness of Friends, or the submission of writers, allow to be reviv'd: The Press would not be an *Amsterdam* of medley whimsies, or be abortive of so many crude and shapeless lumps; the modest would be confirm'd, the conceited restrain'd; and so many mens labours

bours would not be among their sins, to be repented of.

The entertainment of his best Visitants was this reading to them some of his last composures, wherein their good humour thought him neither fulsome nor affected; but took it as the most gentile treat, the most complaisant reception. Yet in this cursory rehearsal to his Friends, he was sensible, he lay under this disadvantage, that his crudest fancies might soonest raise the attention, and feed the appetite, of his hearers: While his best digested thoughts were either from inadvertence pass'd by unobserv'd, or for want of recollection left unrelish'd. The ear and eye being such different judges of composures, that an applauding Auditour would be
a read-

a reading Critick, and what was heard with oscitance and disgust might on review have all its just features discovered. His intent in these recitements (as before hinted) was not to bribe an approbation, but to invite, and even to extort, a censure; being patient at contradictions, and thankfull for reproof. Tho he would never take another's judgment, till he had reconcil'd it with his own; well knowing, that to lean too much on the sentiments of others betrays a want of strength to support our selves. As in our own language, the reason why a soft head is the denoting Metaphor of a little wit, is because the being too ductile, waxen, and impressive to the Dictates of others is the property of good nature in its worst acceptation.

(d)

Though

Though so much delighted with society, he was averse to that brutish cement of it, drinking. All his invitations were to consults, not frolicks, and he had no great opinion of those parts, which must be oil'd into Eloquence, and flush'd into any tolerable delivery of their thoughts. He was sober to such a degree, that even a Poet could remark, and praise this abstinence, a virtue those Wits are seldom very forward to commend. Thus *Martial*, in the Embassy of his Muse to wait on him at his house in the *Esquilian* Mount, gives her this caution,

— *Ne tempore non tuo disertam,
Pulses ebria januam, videto:
Totos dat tetrica dies Minerva, &c.*

Go soberly attend his Gate,
And for admission humbly wait;
He's chain'd whole days to toilsome Books——

This is that *Martial*, from whom
a late smooth Biographer, in a
com-

compare with the prefer'd *Catullus* does disingenuously detract, and puts as wide a difference betwixt them in their mode of writing, as between the sordid drollery of a Buffoon, and the ingenious raillery of a Gentleman. A bluntness that nothing will excuse, but his partiality to *Catullus* for the dedication * of his Poems. *Catullus*, who may be allow'd indeed to be more soft and passionate, and the better tun'd for Elegy: But for the lucky turn and smartness of *Epigram*, at least for the terminating a thought by a surprising word, *Martial* had much happier hits than he, or any other Rival.

* To *Cornelius Nepos*.

It was one of his rules to read much, rather than many. And though his voluminous Uncle had bequeathed him this Memento, That there was no piece so

trivial, or insignificant, but from whence somewhat of pertinence might be extracted: Yet he thought it more compendious to glean where most lay scatter'd, and he would willingly fall on no Authour, where it was like his appetite or his patience might be affronted.

He was so cautious, that he scarce ever entertain'd any Notion, which he found reason to dismiss; yet if haply through too kind a reliance on the wisdom of others, or too hasty a sealing up his own thoughts, he had imbib'd any sentiments, which he found afterward noxious, or unfavoury; he would reject it with as much abhorrence, as he had with innocence receiv'd it. For he well knew it was so far from being a brand of inconstancy, sometime to profess

fess an alteration of judgment, that it was the best token of a generous and unenslav'd reason. For otherwise were a fixt adherence to all conceits the onely test of a rational head, a blundering Bigot should out-vie the most settled Philosopher, and obstinacy would be the alone right and truth.

He was as sedentary at his Books, as his more active avocations would possibly allow. Yet he would at any time intermit his Studies for the more edifying entertainment of Friends, whose visits he was so far from repining at as chargeable, or impertinent, that he courted them in retirements, and could dispence with them amidst the most urging affairs; being so exact an improver both of solitude and company that he made these

the most comfortable stages, to think with himself, and to talk with a Friend.

This made his acquaintance so much coveted by the ingenious, that with a great deal of comfort he could tell a correspondent, *None had a love for Learning, but what had a kindness for him.* Nay he had so wide a Soul and so open of access, that all his acquaintance were immediately familiars, and all his familiars friends. Yet though numerous, they were all select; they must have parts as well as humours, to recommend them; and therefore he was in the estimate of their deserts as impartial, as integrity and circumspection could possibly provide: Though perhaps his charity might sometime trespass on his judgment.

How-

However he was more coy in the choice, than in the continuance of a Friend. He would pried in- to infirmities before he entred any League, but after a confederacy he would wink and look beyond. And certainly if in the offices of friendship he was at all to blame, it was for too much of good nature, too fond an indulgence: And this one acquaints him he had heard him censur'd for; while as a bold Delinquent, he frankly owns the charge, and hugs the fault, replying *there could be little of guilt where goodness err'd; it was not onely a charity toward others, but a pleasure to himself, to believe the best: Some might think it grave to reprove, and judicious to correct, but for his part he should rest content, there could be no weakness to love in excess.*

(d) 4 Though

Though it is possible he was afterward bruted with some unlucky occasion to repent of this humour, for he once with feelingness confest, it had been an errour (though an honest one) in many otherwise discreet that by too great a fondness they overvalued the merits of a friend.

He scorn'd Ceremony, and was above Complement. He might be squeamish at engagements, but was greedy at performance. His onely pressure was to lie under a promise without opportunity to discharge it. When he petition'd Votes for his Friend *Naso*, he so heartily espouses his Cause, that he assures, *The glory of Success should be entirely his Friend's, but the scandal of Miscarriage purely his own.* He never let his good Offices be screw'd or wrung from him,

him, but whenever a craving occasion requir'd, he would not stay the formality of Address, but gloried to prevent the asking. Nay he would resent it as a grievance to be entreated, where the relief of an indigent Friend was concern'd. Thus to a Person, who by Letter advis'd him of the distress of *Corellia*, and importun'd him to appear in her defence, he return'd this ingenious answer, *You inform me of the hard fortune of Corellia, and intreat me to patronize her Cause; For your Information I thank you, but your entreaties I am angry at: To have notice was necessary, that I might have the opportunity of doing good, but 'tis an affront to be prayed and urg'd on to that, which I am always in charity oblig'd to doe.* He would therefore sollicite for those that
fought

sought, and as often thrust on those, who shrunk and recoil'd: Though indeed he would allow for the behaviour of each, and remember that in the discharge of any promise, there is a different judgment to be made of him, who forwardly offers his assistance, and him, who is unwillingly importun'd to accept; the first is unpardonable except he doe as he ought, but the latter excusable if he doe but as he can. He thought it no better method to secure a gratitude for past obligations than to feed them with a fresh supply. Yet he would neither make his bounty cheap, nor himself lavish; and therefore seldom repeated his good turns, but where a provident use of the former had given in caution for as prudent a manage of the future.

future. To all his good Offices he added this gentile endearing sanction, that he would never be his own *Echo*, never be a Herald of his own favours: Nay if they were slighted or abus'd, he would glibly swallow the affront; and even the dirtiest ingratitude he would have no courage to upbraid. He fram'd this Vertue into a *Maxime*, That *those who lov'd to dwell on a rehearsal of their good deeds, might be suspected to have done well, that they might after talk of it; rather than seem onely to talk of it, because they had before done well.*

He was more especially a *Mecænas* to the studies and endeavours of hopefull young Men. And this he thought a necessary as well as generous charity: For he observ'd that
no

no parts were so extraordinary as very soon to appear with advantage, unless countenanc'd and recommended by some powerfull and peculiar Patron. Growing abilities without such incitements might either languish into sloth, or after some ineffectual strugglings die into despair.

Though he was scarce ever shockt by any one misfortune, but that continued one of being childless, yet he betray'd a Soul, that could bear their assault, and less dreaded their approach. It being one of his own Lessons that *to endure a misery was more tolerable than to expect it, for of sufferance there would be once an end, but never of fear; we suffering no more than what has actually hapned, but fearing whatever may possibly fall out.*

He would sooner condemn
his

his own than even examine others actions; or if at any time he hap'd to be inquisitive, it was neither an itch of intermeddling nor the petulance of exposing a nakedness, but an honest intention, a cordial humanity. However he would not judge of any occurrences either by their appearance or by their issue. The observation being first his, that *with a great deal of hard usage the same counsels were oft esteem'd rash or deliberate as they thriv'd or miscarried, and the very same undertakings from a difference of event were extoll'd for discreet because prosperous, or vilified for imprudent because unlucky.*

How easie he was to remit the offences or excuse the infirmities of his Neighbour, needs no other proof than a recital of that great Lesson, which he liv'd no doubt as well as taught, *That we should so forgive others, as if we daily committed*

ted the same faults our selves; and yet so to pass judgment on our selves, as if we would never forgive he same fault in another. Than which (abate from the exalted Morals of him who came to fulfill the Law) there is not among all Authours any one Aphorism, that tends more to a just, honest, nay devout and religious life. And indeed he was very sententious in many sober and pious directions: This one instance is very remarkable, upon the recovery of a friend, reflecting on the proneness to resolves of amendment on a sick-bed, and the neglect of executing such intentions upon a return of strength to perform them; he said he could epitomize whole Volumes of Philosophy into this one Memento, *That in health we remember to be such as in sickness we promised to be.*

His integrity was so guarded
that

that he kept it no less free from fault than from suspicion too: Which in an envious age had not been so feasible, if the motives to this Vertue had been a Stoical scorn of self, a pride of being above the reach of bribes, or at best a prudential abstinence to escape the penalties of Law, and not (what they really were) an honest mind and a well principled conscience. So that he not onely abhor'd the extortion of compacts and conditional rewards; but where engag'd as a Judge he refus'd the very presents of his friends, and rejected their customary annual gifts, though he knew no sinister design of the donors, and could have accepted without biasing his own intentions. So rigorous would our *Roman* be, and so far would even our Heathen abstain from all appearance of evil.

In a word without flattery or
often-

ostentation, he was Learning's Patron, Vertue's Friend, his Prince's Favorite, and even Nature's Darling: For though it be easie to observe, that there have been no persons so unexceptionably accomplish'd, but who have had some allay of failures to curb that conceitedness, which might be apt to arise from a sense of their otherwise complete qualifications: Yet as far as we can learn, our great Man had no one imperfection, that either the candidness of a friend could ever alledge, or his own Modesty betray, which yet were such impartial Censors of his actions and endowments that had there been the least handle, we are sure to have had it offer'd by the suggestion of others or by the confession of himself.

PLINY'S

PLINY'S Panegyrick.

My Lords,

I. 'T WAS well and wisely order'd
by our provident Forefathers,
that as our actions, so our
speeches should both be ushered in by
the attendance of Prayer: Since weak
Mortals can undertake nothing with
any prospect of success, without the
favour, and countenance of the Divine
Beings. Which pious and commendable
custome to whom more proper, than
to me, who am a Consul, or when more
seasonable and requisite than while by
the command of the Senate, and Authority

B

rity

rity of the Commonwealth, we are encouraged to a solemn return of thanks to the best of Princes? For what indeed is a more acceptable, more generous gift of Heaven, than a Prince who is Just, Religious and in all accomplishments allied to those Gods, who gave him? So that were it yet a matter of debate, whether Kings ow'd their Original to chance or compact, or not rather to the more creditable title of Divine Right: were this (I say) any subject for contest; yet that our Prince at least may justly claim a Divine Right is beyond all colour of dispute. For he was instated in his Empire not by any blind hit of fate or fortune, but by the more regular conduct of an all-wise providence, and brought, as it were, by the hand of God himself to be happily Crown'd and inthron'd before the Holy Altar, that place, which (if any) is a heaven upon earth; for it is there that Omnipotence does more especially reside. Upon this account duty and devotion prompt me to address my self to you, most potent *Jove*, the best and greatest God, heretofore the Founder, and still the Preserver of our Roman Empire, to beg of you, so to direct my heart and tongue, that
 I may

I may deliver nothing unbecoming a Consul to speak, nothing improper for a Senate to hear, and nothing unworthy of that Prince, who is to be the Subject of my following Discourse: Grant that in all I mention, I may pay a respective deference to freedom, faithfulness and truth; and let this thankfull acknowledgment of the benefits of a good Prince seem as far from flattery, as it really is from force.

2. In the first place, I think it ought to be the caution, not onely of a publick Magistrate, but of every inferiour Subject, to speak nothing of our Prince, which may in the least measure be applied to another. Let us therefore banish such expressions which a just resentment did heretofore extort: Let us make no wonted complaints, because we labour under no wonted grievance: let us not in publick proclaim the usual harangues, because in private we whisper not the usual Oppressions. Let the altered tenour of our speeches betray the happy change of times; and from the form of our thanks let it now appear, that we can dare to speak of our Prince, as of no more than a

Pliny's *Panegyrick*.

Man, though his Predecessours have been heretofore fawn'd into the title of Gods. We speak not now of a Tyrant, but of a tender Patriot, not of an imperious Lord, but an indulgent Father of his people. His humility bends him into a compli-
ance of being thought as one of us (and herein does he commence the more our Superiour, because his modesty would stoop him into no more than our equal) nor does he less forget that he himself is a man than that he is advanc'd to Reign over men. Let us therefore become sensible of our own happiness, and let our improv'd Loyalty render us in some measure worthy of such a blessing: While we honestly reflect how much more a chearfull obedience we owe to such Supreme Governours who assert the liberties, rather than to those who attempt the slavery of their people. *Rome* indeed has had her choice of Princes, but with the same joy that she was wont to commend one for beautifull, she admires this for valiant, and with the same acclamations she was wont to extoll the voice of one, and gesture of another, in this she adores his Piety, his Temperance, and his Clemency. To what straits and difficulties, alas, are we drove?

We

We must needs waver in suspense whether, amidst the transports of joy, we shall rather insist on his Grandeur, and Godlike Majesty, or on his obliging sweetness, his affable deportment, and most endearing courtesie. Now, what more just, what more becoming than that surname of *Best*, which our Senate did joyntly confer upon him? And which the extravagant pride and ambition of former Princes hath made his peculiar title. Farther, how reasonable, how equitable is it, we should conspire to make him happy, who hath already made us so? Thus let him doe, and this let him hear, as sensible that we would not speak these things, except they were the same he had first acted: And yet at the rehearsal of them, his modesty constrains him to reply in tears, being sensible, the commendation is directed to the Man, not to the Prince.

3. The same temper we observ'd in our first unpremeditate shouts of joy, the same let us still maintain in this more studied delivery of our thanks. For we may well suppose that no gratitude can be more sincere and acceptable, than where it is express'd in the nearest resemblance

blance to those Extempore acclamations, which have no leifure to be otherwise than natural and unfeign'd. For my own part, I fhall endeavour through the whole Sequel of my fpeech to make a due allowance to the modetty and moderation of our Prince. Nor fhall I lefs confider what will make him blufh to hear, than what the merit of his vertues might claim to be spoke. An excellent and rare accomplifhment this in a Prince, that in the return of thanks I am now prepar'd to offer, there is more danger he fhould think me too lavish than too thrifty in his commendation: That I give no offence this way muft be the greateft of my care, this my onely caution. For it is indeed otherwise eafie to return thanks to a Perfon who really deferves it, there being no danger that when I mention his humanity he fhould fufpect I give a rub at his pride; when his thrift, that I glance on his luxury; when his clemency, that I filly upbraid his cruelty; when his generoufnefs, that I reflect on his avarice; when his temperance, that I jirk his excefs; when his induftry, that I condemn his floth: Or laftly, when I proclaim his valour, that I do but tax his cowardife. Nor
do

do I fear the rallying my self into frown or favour according as I shall be too profuse, or too sparing in my Character of him. Lastly, I shall guide my measures by this observation, that *the Gods themselves are better aton'd by the holiness and innocency, than by the accurate and neatly drest petitions of their respective Votaries, and sooner accept of him who brings to their Altars an humble and an honest heart, than of him, who accosts them with a well penn'd harangue.*

4. But an Order of Senate must be obey'd, whereby, (for the publick good) it was reasonably decreed that by the mouth of the Consul, under the title of Thanks, good Princes might be reminded of what they have, and bad ones inform'd what they ought to have, done. Which ceremony is at this time more especially requisite, because the modesty of our Prince has discountenanced all private, and would have wav'd their publick thanks, but that he is so obliging, as not to refuse what the Senate has so unanimously resolv'd. In either (most sacred Sir) you acquit your self to glory and admiration, as well that elsewhere you will not accept of thanks

as that here you will. The honour hereby done you is far from the quest and aim of your own ambition, it is the free and undesir'd grant of those, who confer it on you. Your part herein is no more than a compliance with our importunate requests; and the compulsion is on your side to hearken to your deserts, not on ours to proclaim 'em. My Lords, It has often cost me many a silent and serious thought, what excellent qualifications that Person ought to be endow'd with, who is invested with the Government of Land and Sea, impowered with the management of Peace and War. And yet after a creating to my self the Idea of one the most absolutely accomplisht for the discharge of this Royal Office, I could never (no not in wish) propose a person more excellent, than him we are now infinitely obliged with. One indeed has glistred in War, but then he has grown mouldy in Peace: Another has gained repute in his Robes, but lost it in his Armour: One has frown'd his Subjects into an awfull respect, another has wheedled them into love by a popular submission: A publick miscarriage has rob'd one of the credit of his happy acquit-

acquittments in private: Another by a home misfortune has sullied that esteem, he bravely gain'd abroad. In a word, there was never yet any, whose Vertues were not eclips'd by the interposure of some near-aboding Vice. But in our Prince what unclouded raies of glory meet? What an unallay'd mixture of all that is commendable? His affability abates nothing from his Majestick port and Grandeur; his obliging freedom does no-way trespass on his becoming gravity, his candour and condescension do not at all lessen the claims of his due respect. Add to this his manly height and proportion'd strength of body, the ornament of a black hair, the advantages of a stern and commanding look, the perfection of a sound and healthy middle age, and, as an express favour of Heaven, the budding appearance of some few gray hairs, as the ensign of Wisdom, rather than the effect of declining years. What can all these import less than a Prince, linn'd by Nature's self in her best adorning colours?

5. And such indeed ought he to have been, who climb'd his Throne not through a Sea of blood, who purchas'd a Crown
not

Pliny's *Panegyrick*.

not by Rapine and Massacre, but by the calm mercy of appeas'd Heaven, and the innocent method of an universal consent. Is there no distinction to be made between such a Prince, whom humane means shall ordain, and such a one, whom Divine Providence does more immediately appoint? Providence (Great Sir) that was most eminently concern'd in your happy advance, as was abundantly evidenc'd by a remarkable instance at your first going General to the Imperial Army: Other Princes have drawn credulous Presages from the blood of Sacrifices, the flight of Birds, or some such like whims of Superstition: But you were encourag'd by a more assuring token; for going to pay your accustom'd Devotions at the Holy Altar, when for greater privacy you had shut your self within the Temple, the crouds that stood waiting at the outer doors, ignorant of your being within, loudly saluted, as was intended, *Jove*, but as the event shew'd, you, under the Title of Emperour: And so indeed was the Omen understood by all, though you your self were unwilling it should be so interpreted. Your Modesty inclin'd you to refuse the Empire, but your refusal convinc'd

vinc'd the world that you the better deserv'd it : You were hereupon to be compell'd, though compell'd indeed you could not have been, had not the publick good, and the safety of these Nations enforc't you to a charitable compliance; you seeming so generous, that you would not have accepted of a Kingdom, if it had been barely to govern, and not rather to have redeem'd and preserv'd it. So that I believe those tumults and troubles which preceded your happy Reign, were therefore Ordained by Heaven, to make your long-oppress'd people more sensible of the comforts enjoy'd under the gracious influence of so good a Prince : For as a calm air, and a smooth Sea are never more welcome than after the bustling allarm's of storms and tempests; so may we well conceive those gusts of Seditious rage and fury, which for some time obstructed your settlement, were purposely contriv'd to prepare a better relish to those joys your peacefull Reign affords. The dispensations of Providence being so ordered, that Prosperity may lecture us how to bear our Misfortune, and Afflictions instruct us how to prize our happiness, the secret springs whereof God does

does so industriously conceal, that the events of good and bad do not seldom result from their quite contrary appearances.

* *Nerva* by
the Sedition
of *Casperius*,
Captain of
the Pretorian
Guards.

6. It was indeed an eternal blot to the Age it was acted in, it was a wounding blow to this Nation, that a Sovereign * Prince, a Father of his People should be assaulted, seiz'd, imprison'd, stript by his own too-yielding goodness, of the power of saving or relieving his Friends, and rob'd of that Prerogative wherein Sovereignty does chiefly consist, the doing nothing by force or restraint. Yet if all these Misfortunes were design'd but as a purchase for your enriching Reign, I may be bold to say, that had the rates been much higher, they had scarce been equal to the value of so inestimable a Prize. But farther yet, Military Discipline was let sink into disorderly and corrupt practices, that your Skill and Conduct might amend and re-inforce it. Unheard-of Examples were brought in to be balanc'd by the most regular Proceedings of your Reign: And in short, a Prince was forc'd to Condemn those he would willingly have sav'd, that we might have a Prince

Prince whose will can never be forc'd.
You deserv'd to have been Adopted long
before you actually were so, though indeed
had your Adoption been sooner, the blessing
of your Reign must have needs been less.
You waited for that convenience of time,
wherein the acceptance of a Crown was rather
a Courtesy to others, than a kindness to your
self. The trembling state fled for Sanctuary
to your protecting Bosome, the ruinous and
just falling Empire was by *Nerva's* choice
assign'd to be upheld by you. From distant
Countries you were call'd home, and importun'd
to comply with the being Adopted: As
Commanders employ'd in Foreign Service are
upon urgent occasions recall'd to divert their
Arms to the more seasonable defence of their
own Countrey. Thus in one and the same
action the mutual Gallantry of Father and
Son do interchangeably appear, he bestows
on you a Crown, you return it to him better
guarded, and more confirm'd. You are the
first who could ever make a requital equal
to such a Present, the obligation whereof
you have so fully discharg'd, that the giver
does even yet remain your debtor: For by
his imparting to
you

you a share of the Empire, you become onely the more thoughtfull and concern'd, he the more quiet and secure.

7. O rare and unheard-of passage to a Throne! It was not your own Ambition, not your own Jealousies, but another's desire, another's fear that push'd you on to the Imperial Dignity: and though you seem to have attain'd the highest pitch of Honour, yet the condition you exchange'd for this, was indeed more happy, it being the most desirable comfort to live a Subject under the best of Princes. You were admitted to a relieving participation of his cares and troubles, rather than a dignifying share of his power and greatness: Nor did a bright, and smiling, but the black, and clouded face of affairs induce you to accept the offer. You interpos'd to bear a chearfull part in the support of the Empire, when the other sustainer of it was now weary of the pressure. There was no Alliance, no Relation between the Adopter and the Person Adopted, save that both were best besitting, the one to make, the other to be made choice of. You therefore were Adopted, not as others, for the sake, or by the interest
of

of a Wife, your Adopter not being biaſt by the relation of a Father-in-Law, but diſengag'd and impartial as a generous Prince ; and the Divine *Nerva* is in no other ſenſe your Parent, than as he is the common Father of us all. Nor indeed in Elective Kingdoms is it fit that a Succeſſour ſhould be otherwiſe aſſum'd. Were you, Sir, to transfer from your ſelf to another this vaſt legacy of the Roman Empire, would you look for an Heir no farther than your own Bed ; and muſt the Succeſſour to all your Imperial Dignity be no better than what happens to be found wⁱthin the narrow limits of your own Houſe ? Would you not rather beſtow ſome pains in a ſearch through the whole City, and take him for your Son, him for your next Heir, who is beſt accompliſh't, and moſt like thoſe Gods, he muſt one day repreſent ? He who is to govern all ought ſure to be choſen out of all ; for you leave not a Lord of your private Family, that you muſt needs aſſign him, who comes next in blood, but a ſupreme Governour of a free-born People. It were ſtiſt and Tyrannical, nay abſurd, not to Adopt him who is born to be an Emperour, ſhould he not be Adopted. This
was

was the course the great, the good *Nerva* took, well thinking there could be no difference between Generation and Election, if Children were not Adopted with better Judgment than they are begot. *Though indeed it is the humour of Subjects more patiently to admit the unhappy issue, than the ill choice, of Princes.*

8. This danger therefore *Nerva* did most cautiously avoid, and trusted not to the shallow advice of Men, but took counsel from the Gods themselves. While not in a private Chamber, but an open Temple, not before the Nuptial Bed, but the Holy Altar of *Jupiter*, (that best and greatest God) did the Ceremony of your Adoption pass, that Adoption from whence we date our lives, our liberties, our peace, our joy, our all. The Gods were indeed (and well might they be) proud of appropriating this honour to themselves, this was their project, their enterprise: *Nerva* was no more than a Trustee in their behalf, he in Adopting, and you in being Adopted, did both but shew your submission to the Dictates of Divine Pleasure. A Laurel was brought from *Pannonia*,
the

the Gods so ordering it, that the inauguration of a victorious Prince might be attended with the Omen of Conquest and success : This the Emperour *Nerva* stuck in the bosome of *Jupiter*, when on the sudden being elevated in some kind of Divine transport, before a numerous Assembly of Men and Gods, he pronounced you his Adopted Son, that is, the staff of his declining years, the support of his pressing Empire. Then as if he had been disburthen'd of the load of Government, how did he hug himself in a lightsome rest and ease? (Nor indeed is there much difference between the perfect resignation of a Crown, and the taking a Partner into Sovereignty, save that this last is more difficult and less practicable than the other.) He now leans intirely on your shoulders, and by their strength upholds both himself and the Empire : Your youth, your vigour seem to recover his, and upon the influence of your power all Factions, all Tumults are gag'd and eternally silent. Though this happiness, it must be confess'd, is owing not to a bare Adoption, but to the efficacy of that Person, who is so Adopted. So that had *Nerva* made choice of any other, he had come short

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of

* The Adoption of *Piso* by *Galba*.

† *Vespasian* on his eldest Son *Titus*.

of this happy, this blest event. Most of us may yet remember when an * Adoption was not the appeasment, but the rise and occasion of an uproar and Sedition. We might now again have felt the same dismal effects, if the Election had fell on any, but on you. That Emperour, it is true, who by too great remissness has fool'd away his due respect and esteem, must ask his Subjects leave to dispose of his Empire: But your Election was free and absolute without noise or murmur as much, no question, out of awe and regardfull dread of you, as out of reverence to that Prince, who declar'd you Elect. You were admitted to be a Son, a *Cæsar*, an Emperour, a Collegue of the Tribunitian Power, all these dignities heapt on you at the same time, which a late natural † Father durst onely by degrees bestow upon one of his own Sons.

9. A signal instance this of your admirable prudence, that you please and oblige not onely when Successour but while Companion and Co-partner in the Empire. For Successour indeed you must have been even against your own

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own will, but half sharer you need not have been content with, if your ambition would have otherwise advis'd. Can posterity ever believe that the Son of a Patrician, a Consular, Triumphal Father, one who was himself at the head of a stout, a numerous, and an obedient Army, was not by that Army created Emperour? He, who while he commanded in *Germany* had conferr'd on him by our Senate the title of *Germanicus*: Can it be imagin'd that one in these powerfull circumstances should make no attempt upon the Empire, that he should take no other method toward his own advance, than that of serving and obeying? For obedience, *Cæsar*, was your onely ambition, and it was out of duty alone that you complied with the being made a Prince: Never more Loyally approving your self a Subject, than when you submitted to the summons of being ordain'd a Sovereign. When absent and ignorant of the honours done you, made *Germanicus*, *Cæsar*, *Emperour*, and yet after all this preferment, still as submissive and humble as a private man. It will seem strange that you could not know, whether ever you should be an Emperour, inay you actually

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Pliny's *Panegyrick*.

ally were so, before ever you knew it. And as soon as the messenger of your advancement came, your reception of the news betrayed, that you had rather have remain'd in the quality you were in, if it had been manners or duty to have refus'd the honour. But must not a Subject have obey'd his Sovereign, an Ambassadour his Prince, a Son his Father? Where then were all discipline? Where were that long practis'd Tradition deliver'd down to us from our Ancestours, *That whatever were enjoy'd by Royal command, should without farther dispute be chearfully perform'd.* And what if he should have order'd you from Province to Province, from the service of one War to the task of another? Think, by the same authority he sent you out to the conduct of an Army, by the same he recalls you to the acceptance of a Crown. Nor is there much difference between his commissioning you a General, and his ordaining you an Emperour, save that in this last your obedience is the more creditable, because *The glory of being dutifull is so much the more, as it is exercis'd in any thing contrary to the bent of a man's own inclination.*

10. It confirm'd and advanc'd the authority of him, who commanded, that his authority had so lately been encroacht upon. Which blest you with an opportunity of being then more seasonably Loyal, when others were more basely factious. The command of the Prince was backt with the Votes of the Senate, and consent of the people. It was not onely the single judgment of *Nerva*, but a concurrent and universally approv'd Election. He onely (as an honour due to his Imperial dignity) led the way and did that which all first, would soon have done, had not his doing prevented 'em. Nor indeed would the World have been ravish't with joy at the event, if they had not jointly both allow'd and applauded the design before ever it was put in execution. But with how discreet a temper, good Gods, did you behave your self amidst all these caresses of fortune? An Emperour in Style, in Effigies, in Statue, but in Modesty, Vigilance, Industry, an Officer, a Deputy, a Common Soldier: While in a becoming posture you marcht before your Colours, led up your Troops, and wish'd no other bene-

Pliny's *Panegyrick*.

fit might accrue by your adoption, than the honour of acquitting your self a dutifull and obedient Son, in which state of subjection you desir'd a long continuance, a long scene of glory. Providence had exalted you to the first place, yet could you contentedly have demean'd your self to the second, and there have remained much longer, yet longer, to a good old age. Nor while another shar'd with you in the title of Emperour, were you willing your self to appear more than a private Subject. Heaven heard your Prayers which were no other than consistent with the good and happiness of that just and pious old man, who the Gods wisely remov'd to a better World, that, after so Divine and consummate an action, he might have no leisure to misemploy his pains in any trifle of mortal concern. For *There is this respect due to an unimitable exploit that as it is the best, so it ought to be the last of all our earthly undertakings*; and therefore ought the Authour immediately to be desir'd, it being likely the World will enquire, whether he, were not a God, when he did it. Thus he who had no better claim to the title of common parent than by being yours, being great
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in fame, when he had liv'd a while to see how well you could bear up under the weight of an Empire, left you to the World, and the World to you: Leaving us sensible of our greater loss, because in you he provided that our loss should be the less.

II. When dead, you, as a respectfull Son, first honour him with your tears, then with a Temple. Not herein imitating those former presidents, which have afforded indeed examples of like Piety, but upon far different inducements. *Tiberius* deified *Augustus*, but it was onely his ambition to entail a Godhead on the Crown. *Nero* past the same compliment on *Claudius*, but it was onely to expose him. *Titus* did as much for *Vespasian* and *Domitian* for *Titus*, but the first, that he might appear the Son, this latter the Brother of a God. You have enroll'd your Father among the Stars, not to strike an awe into the people, not to put an affront on his fellow Deities, not to derive an honour on your self, but because you devoutly thought him more than humane. It abates much from the glory of this honour, when it is done by those, whose

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pride thinks themselves as really Gods as those, whom by this ceremony they make so. And though you have consecrated to his Divinity an Altar with its due ornaments, and a Priest to Officiate at it, yet have you prov'd him a God in nothing more, than that you your self are so much like him : For in a Prince who dies after a settled appointment of his Heir, the most convincing Argument of his Divinity is a good Successour. Has the dazelling immortality of your Father blinded you into any pride or conceitedness ? Do you copy after the vain and affected humour of our modern kinsmen to deified Heroes ? Or do you not rather imitate those more generous souls of the Ancients, who bravely founded this Empire, which our enemies have but of late found courage to assault, though now they dare so, we have no surer proof of their flight or conquest, than, the pageantry of their triumphs. This, makes 'em assume some spirit, and emboldens 'em to shake off that yoke, they think they have now long enough labour'd under ; nor would they contend onely for redemption of their own liberties, but would quite change the Scene, and bring us to our turn of being slaves,

slaves, accepting of no truce, but upon even terms, and prescribing those conditions, they ought onely to receive.

12. But now all return to their due bounds of obedience, and to an ambition of performing what their betters command. For they now see a Roman General of the true old stamp, of the same mettle with those, who made good their dignifying titles by Fields strow'd with Murthered Carcasses, and Seasting'd with the bloud of their enemies. So that now we are entreated to accept of hostages; and not, as formerly, forc'd to purchase 'em. Nor do we now on hard terms and unreasonable rates buy the credit of coming off Victours. They humbly beg, they oft petition, and according as we think good, we either grant or deny both, we keep our Grandeur, in both we exert our authority, if we grant, they are thankfull, if we deny, they durst not repine. They durst not, knowing that you have tam'd a furly * people, even in that season of the year, * The Ger.
which was most beneficial to them, and ^{mans.}
most injurious to us, when *Danube's* banks kept a passable intercourse by Ice, and could transport whole Armies on
the

the bridge that winter made, when the barbarous Nations were arm'd as much by weather and by climate, as by Darts and Weapons: And yet at your approach, as if the season of the year were by your influence thaw'd into a change, they confin'd themselves within their holds and caves, while our Soldiery marcht along the banks, and had you allow'd 'em to have pursued that advantage, which the enemy oft took, they had made the same depth of winter, which us'd to be the other's greatest security, the time of their total rout and subversion.

13. This was the respect you bore among your enemies, what among your own Souldiers? How did you oblige 'em at the same time to duty and admiration? While they felt no hunger, but what you bore a part in: No thirst, but what you your self set for an example of patience: In the exercising of your Troops you mingled your own sweat and dust with theirs, desiring in all things to be barely their equal, except in the odds of strength and valour: Charging briskly, and as freely receiving the charge, now whirling Darts at others, then standing the brunt of those

those thrown at you, spurring on the courage and dexterity of your men, seeming never better pleas'd, than with those who could strike the deepest blow on your shield or helmet: For you commended the boldest darer, and provokt him on to a greater boldness, a becoming boldness, which they could not want, while they saw you stand over them a Spectatour and a Judge of their activity: You handling their Arms, poizing their Darts, and if any complain'd of their heaviness, you wheedled him into content by making nothing of throwing 'em your self. You recruit the weary, relieve the sick. You never enter your own Pavilion, till you have first visited each Souldiers Tent, nor take your own repose, till you see others all asleep. A General thus completely qualified would not so much have rais'd my wonder, if he had hapned among the *Fabricii*, the *Scipio's*, the *Camilli*, for then perhaps the heat of imitation might have chast him on, and he might have been toucht with a noble scorn of coming a whit behind the best. But that now in these sneaking and cowardly times, when the profession of Arms is sunk from solid action

to a superficial sight, degenerated from rough labour to an idle pleasure, when our Companies are exercis'd not by experienc'd home Commanders who have won the mural and the civick Crown; but by some upstart modish Grecians: when our discipline is thus corrupt, how strange is it to see one of the good old Roman stamp, who fights and conquers without a rival, without an example, to convince the lazy World, that as he Reigns alone, so he alone deserves to Reign?

14. And have you not, *Cæsar*, from your very Infancy been nurs'd, been train'd to these glories? Nay did you not in your very Cradle, as it were, commence a Heroe? While yet a Stripling, your *Parthian* expedition added to the Catalogue of your Father's Victories, and you even then deserv'd the title of *Germanicus*. For hearing of the *Parthian* inroads on our neighbouring Allies, you did courageously dispatch, and bravely scour them back, making both the *Rhine* and *Euphrates* joyntly admire your prowess: Marching along through the most distant Countries, yet not so fast in person, as in fame, gradually encreasing

encreasing your reputation, and appearing still greatest where you appear last: And all this before you were Emperour, before you were Successour to a God. And though *Germany* be inviron'd with many Warlike Nations, hem'd in with several inaccessible desarts, and blockt up, as it were, with the *Alpes*, the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, and other craggy Hills, which might be called great, if not compar'd with the former, which so much exceed 'em: Yet when through these discouraging tracts you led, or rather (such was the expedition) you hurried your nimble Army, you never so much as took Chariot, or mounted your Horse, having onely a light hunting Nag brought after you, which was more for shew than service, never making any use of him but onely, when your Army were at the end of their march, to gallop for diversion o'er the neighbouring Fields. Shall I wonder most at the onset of your enterprises, or at the event of them? 'Tis much that you held out to the end, 'tis yet more that you never doubted you should fail or come short, of your first resolves. I question not but that * Prince, who, sending for you * *Domitioni*, as far as from *Spain*, commission'd you to the

* *Erytheus*.

the charge of the *German* War, being too lazy for the enterprize himself, and yet envious of those parts, he was forc'd to employ ; I say, I question not but he admir'd your conduct, and yet was jealous of your eminence. As the Divine *Hercules* was out of malice employ'd by his * Prince in several hazardous undertakings, yet still return'd a Victour, and by doing so deriv'd a stronger odium upon the greatness of his success. And thus came you always off so triumphantly, that your happy discharge of one expedition did but make way for your fresh engagement in another.

15. While you were a military Tribune, you marcht on through several Countries, with the age of a youth, yet the courage of a man : Forestalling fortune then kindly instructing you, in what you were afterward to instruct others. You not being content to glance over your slighted charge, and huddle up a tiresome War, but so acted the subordinate Officer, as if you deserv'd immediately to be Supreme Commander, having nothing left to learn your self, when you should be advanc'd

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to the Province of teaching others. You were verſt and completely ſkill'd by ten ſeveral expeditions in the cuſtoms of the World, in the Situation of Countries, in the advantages and conveniency of different grounds, in the property and temper of foreign Waters and Airs, which you had made as familiar to your body, as thoſe of your own native Countrey. How often (not out of fear or miſfortune, but as ſpoils won from the enemy) have you chang'd your half ſpent Horſe and batter'd Arms? So that time ſhall come when poſterity ſhall take out their Children, and in curioſity conduct 'em to the ſeveral places, where ſuch a field drank up your ſhowering ſweat, where the fruit of ſuch a tree was your homely repaſt, where ſuch a ſtone was your hardy pillow, where ſuch a Cottage was your humble Inn. As it is not unlikely that in ſome of thoſe very places you your ſelf have been bid remember what noble Atchievements had been there wrought by ſome of your fam'd and immortal Forefathers. This your bravery was long ſince ſhewn; for they who were your fellow Souldiers are now old and almoſt worn out: Though indeed you were fellow Souldier
to

to every one before you were his General: Thence comes it that you can salute 'em all by their respective names, and can rehearse to each their most memorable acts of gallantry; nor can any shew a scar receiv'd for his Countrey, but that at the time of receiving it you were both a witness, and a commander of his valour.

16. But the discreet manage and command over the bent of your Education is to be admir'd beyond all other your additional accomplishments: That bred up in Arms, and nurs'd in a War, you should love and court the blessings of peace. Nor, because your Father inur'd to triumphs, and a victorious Laurel was consecrated to *Jove* on the very day of your Adoption, do you therefore seek all occasions to improve your patri-mony of triumphal honours: No, you fear not the consequence of War, and yet you catch not at pretences for quarrel. It was a noble (believe me, dread Sovereign) it was a noble Act to stand deliberating on the banks of *Danube*, assur'd of Victory should you pass, and yet out of goodness not tempting, not urging them to Battel, whose cowardice declin'd

declin'd it: The one whereof was an effect of your courage, the other of your Clemency; it was your Clemency, that induc'd you to forbear the engagement, it was your courage, that made them afraid to engage. Our Capitol shall be henceforth adorn'd not with stoln Chariots, not with the Trophies of a counterfeited victory, but upon our Emperour's return with an honest and justly obtain'd glory, it shall shine with the purchases of peace and settlement, and be stuf't with spoils of the enemy, so great, so many, that it may be easily guest, there is none remains unconquered. This far surpasses all former triumphs. The occasion of our Wars being not drawn on by choler, rashness or ambition, but away from the more allowable and justifying cause of calling for satisfaction for such affronts, which shall be put upon our Empire. And if from henceforth any foreign Prince shall be so unadvis'd and daring as to draw down your anger and vengeance on him, though he be guarded by the interposal of Seas and Rivers, though he lye intrencht within the natural fortification of Hills and Mountains, yet shall not all these in the least obstruct your irresistible attempts,

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tempts, the Waters shall sink into passable fords, the Mountains shall cringe into humble plains, the Seas shall retire into dry sands, and the presumptuous Prince shall with terrour think, that not onely a landing Navy, but a transplanted Nation is pour'd in upon him.

17. Methinks I now behold a triumph not made up with feathers stoln from our own Provinces, nor laden with Gold injuriously extorted from our Confederates and Allies, but nobly deckt with hostile spoils and chains of captive Kings. Methinks I see our Souldiers ratling over the names of mighty Generals, and pointing at the bodies suitable to the greatness of their name. Methinks I see the Pageants expressing the method and manner of your respective conquests. Before go shoals of Barbarian Captives with their hands tied behind, to denote they are now bound to obey: after these follow you in your stately Chariot as treading on the necks of enslav'd Nations, bearing before you the reliques of those shields and helmets, which your own hand has pierc'd and batter'd: Nor are there wanting the spoils of disarm'd Generals, whom you
never

never fail'd of dismounting and making your Royal Prisoners, if haply any of them were so bold as against your unequal skill to dare an Encounter: Though indeed a single cast not onely of your Darts, but of your very looks would make the proudest of 'em stand rebukt, and even in the face of a whole Campaign, at the head of their own Army, to shake, tremble and retire: And from henceforth, whenever a respect for the honour of our Empire shall engage you to an invasive, or a defensive War, your past moderation may assure us, that you conquer not because you may triumph, but triumph onely because you conquer.

18. The remembrance of one thing gives occasion for the recollecting of another: How worthy and serviceable a performance is it, that you have retriev'd the impair'd and lost discipline of Arms, scowring off the lazy Lethargy of the last age, purging out their sloth, their stubbornness, their not caring to obey? 'Tis safe to be fear'd, 'tis safer to be belov'd, you are safe and happy in both. There is no General, who ought either to fawn for, or yet to slight, the

affections of his Souldiers, but rather fond of their love, yet not affraid of their hate, he ought so to demean himself, that he may securely overlook the works, see to their being rightly Marshal'd, take account of their Arms, give order for the entrenchments, and assign the several Posts or Stations to each respective Sentinell. For he indeed is by no means a Prince, but a slave to his own jealousies, who suspects those stratagems to be design'd against himself, that are prepar'd against the Enemy, which has been a cowardly surmise of some, who have fear'd their own Forces would be turn'd against themselves. With shame we confess it, in former times Military profession was just sunk into nothing, mens bodies, as well as their minds, were heavy, dull and drooping, swords with rust were riveted into scabbards, where they slept and forgot their primitive employ: Our Generals stood upon their Guards more from suspicion of their own Subjects than for prevention of the attempts of foreign Princes, and fear'd the treachery of their own Souldiers, more than the violence of their profest Enemies.

19. It is the nature of the heavenly bodies that the lesser and more obscure dwindle, wink, and die into the lustre of more dazzling Orbs: And thus Ambassadors must loose both their state and authority at the personal appearance of those Princes, they had the honour to represent. Whereas you indeed outshin'd all, yet without eclipsing the splendour of any weaker lights, each person kept his glory as entire while you were present, as when absent: Nay some of your delegates were made the more honourable by your company, while respected by you, they met with the more respect from others. By these endearments you gain'd on the affections of all, from the highest to the most inferior quality, so acting by turns the part both of a General and a common Souldier, that you prescrib'd and impos'd Military duties, as a Supreme Commander, and yet assisted in the performance of them, as an equal companion. How happy were all under your Conduct, all your past associates, of whose loyalty and industry not your Ears, but your Eyes inform'd you, the knowledge whereof you had not from

the partial advice of others, but from the safer and stronger proofs of your own experience: And you were thus farther kind to them, that in your absence you listn'd to no envious reports, but believ'd what you had found yourself, sooner than catcht at what you heard from others.

20. Now did the longing wishes of *Rome* recall you, and the more fond affection, you bore your Countrey, over-sway'd that love, you had shewn your Souldiers. So that now you return, yet with so strict a Discipline, with so little of forrage, plunder or other abuse, as if you came from a regular peace, rather than from a tumultuous War: And, though it seem too trifling to add to your commendation, I cannot but observe, that no Father, no Husband fear'd the injurious effects of your return. Chastity has been a vertue in most others affected onely, and pretended to, but in you it was so unfeign'd, as not to be reckoned among those endowments, which are acquir'd by habit, but those implanted by nature. There was no grievance in the pressing of Carriages, no nicety in the taking up of lodgings,

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no trouble in the catering of dainties for your entertainment. Add to this, that your Progress at the head of your Troops was with so much of dispatch, and in so well govern'd order, as if you went with Commission to an Army, rather than return'd in triumph with one. So little different were your temper and behaviour then while a Subject, and since when an Emperour. How unlike this was the late March of a former Prince (if it may be call'd a march, and not rather an hostile incursion) when he pillag'd houses and dispossest the inhabitants, sack'd and burnt all before him, as if some Enemy had made an inroad for spoil and booty, or those very *Barbarians*, he fled from, had prest on in pursuit of Victory? The aggriev'd Provinces ought to have rested satisfied that it was the journey of a *Domitian*, not of a Prince. Therefore to promote the publick good, rather than advance your private reputation, you publish'd an Edict of the particular expences both of his and your own *German* expedition. It is indeed a commendable custome for a Prince to keep a just reckoning betwixt himself and his Empire, so to undertake any enterprise, and so to re-

turn from the management of it, as if he were shortly to be call'd to an exact account: And if he thus punctually cast up what he spends, he will be sure not to spend more, than he may be willing to own. Beside, by your publishing this bill of charges, succeeding Princes may meet with Precedents of frugal and more lavish disbursements, and when two such different examples are propos'd, they must give men leave to judge of their inclinations, accordingly as they adhere to the one, or the other.

21. For these so many and so remarkable merits, what advance of honours what additional titles did you not abundantly deserve? Yet it was not without a struggling regret that you comply'd with the acceptance of that one appellation of *Father of your Countrey*. How long were we forc'd to strive and combat with your modesty? And with how much of difficulty did we at last overcome? That name, which most of your Predecessours receiv'd at their first Inauguration, as duly as they did that of *Emperour and Cesar*, you differ'd till such time, as your self, the most
impar,

impartial judge of your own merit, could not but own you deserv'd it. So that to you of all other did regularly happen truly to be the *Father of your Countrey*, before you were declar'd so to be. For under that character did we entertain you, both in our judgments, and in our affections: Nor would the publick zeal have stood upon the ceremony of any one title, but that having experienc'd your indulgence much more, than your authority, it would have seem'd undutifull, as well as improper, not to have styl'd you *Father*, much sooner than *Lord*, or *Emperour*: Which honourable appellation with what sweetness, what affection do you answer the just intent and occasion of? Living in an Empire with your Subjects, as in a Family with your Children; returning as a Prince, when you went out no better than a Subject, and yet having your thoughts no higher for your advance to a Crown, but thinking both your self and us in the same equal relation amidst all your Royalty, as when in a private Station: Content in all respects to be, as one of us, and so much greater onely, by how much better, than others.

22. How long hop'd, how wish'd for was that day when at your return you pass in publick through the City? Nay the very manner of your solemn March how gratefull, how obliging? Former Princes have usually been brought in, not onely in pompous Chariots drawn with white Racers, but, what has more of State and pride, supported on the shoulders of men; while you, so much the more visible onely, as the more tall and proper of your retinue, seem'd to ride in a triumph, not over the patience of your people, but over the Grandeur of Princes. No age, no infirmity, no different Sex was debar'd from the common benefit of glutting their eyes on that welcome and unusual sight. Children were taught to know you, young men pointed, old men admir'd, and even those, whose sickness had confin'd 'em to their beds, or chambers, contrary to the advice of their cautious Physicians, came forth, and seem'd confident, that the bare influence of so blest an object would complete their recovery. Some were content now to dye, since they had liv'd to see, what they had so long pray'd for: Others were the more eager
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to have their lives prolong'd as knowing it would be some comfort to live under the Protection of so excellent a Government. Women thought it now some joy to be made Mothers, since they saw to what Prince they brought forth Subjects, and what a long prospect of happiness was thereby entail'd on their Children. The tops of houses were all cover'd with spectatours, who climb'd and hung over at that venturous rate, as if they were just falling, yet for crouds of company below were not likely to come to the ground. The streets were throng'd on either side, and scarce a narrow lane left for your passage. The multitude from all quarters discharg'd loud peals of joy, and thunder'd from every part in shouts and acclamations: While this rejoicing at your return, being as universal, as the benefits of it, grew still greater, as you march'd farther, and advanc'd along with every step you made.

1023. It was a pleasure to see you return those embraces to the Senate, which they had lent you at parting: A pleasure to find you could salute most of the principal Gentry by their names without

without a Remembrancer. A pleasure that you would not onely condescend to take notice of your meaner Subjects, but would be very free and familiar in your discourse with them: And above all, the greatest pleasure that you march'd leisurely, and allow'd time for the people to have a full view of you, nay would suffer any of the Mobile to come up, and make the nearest approach to your Person, not being afraid even the first day to trust your self with a promiscuous rabble, and therefore not environed with too numerous a Guard, but free and open to receive the Addresses sometime of your Senate, at other times of your Courtiers, according as by turns they paid their dutifull respects. Those of your Guard, that clear'd the way before you, pass quietly and offer'd no injuries, nor affronts: And your Soldiers were distinguish'd, scarce by habit, much less by roughness, or incivility, from the rest of the people. When you began to mount the Capitol, how comfortable an occasion did that give of recollecting the time and place of your Adoption? And what a peculiar joy was it to those, who had from thence before saluted you Emperour? Nay I believe
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the very Deity of the place took great satisfaction in reviving that signal work of his own Providence. But when you stood on that particular Station from whence your Father had pronounc'd this secret of the Gods, how the Temple echo'd with repeated shouts? How were the former acclamations renew'd? And how like was this day to that other, which occasion'd it? How loaded were the Altars with Victims and Sacrifices? How zealous and devout were the people in praises for your Succession, and prayers for your preservation? Knowing that to send up their petitions for your safety was in effect to beg a blessing on themselves, their Children, and all their other Secular concerns. From hence you retir'd to your Palace, but with so humble a look, so meek a carriage, as if you had been returning onely to your private house; The rest went all to their respective homes, there to rejoyce without hypocrisie, because without witness of their joy.

24. Such a magnificent entrance might have been apt to have allur'd others to pride and ambition: But you unshock'd by all temptations grew still more to be admir'd,
more

mon. to be belov'd. In a word, such you are, as others do but promise to be. You are the first precedent of a Prince who proceeds better, than he first began: Your excellent temper joyning those properties, which heretofore seem'd incompatible, the modesty of a beginner, and the constancy of a long stander in Government. You suffer not your subjects to throw themselves at your feet, and think it too much state to require they should kneel, and kiss your hand. The addition of an Empire has not made you one whit the more big or stately than before: You us'd to walk much, you continue the same custome: You were wont to take delight in toil and labour, you doe the same still: In a word, Fortune has chang'd all about you, yet has made no alteration on your steady self. When you take the Air abroad, it is free for every one to stop at the sight of you, to come up, and meet you, to walk on even with you, or to pass by and go beyond you: You come among us as familiarly, as if you were but one of us, and accept of our company, not out of necessity, but choice. Every one, who has access to you, staies his own time, and breaks off his discourse, when
his

his own modesty, not your weariness, does advise. We are indeed Govern'd by you, and subject to you, yet no otherwise, than as to our Fundamental Laws, which both direct and punish without partiality, or passion. You are eminent and Supreme as Power and Authority in the Abstract, which are indeed above all, yet are administred by some, and exercis'd on anothers. In past ages Princes from a haughty disdain of doing like the rest of the World, and a fear of being thought equal to their subjects, if they dissented not in their customs from them, had lost all use of their feet, so that they were forc'd to be carried on the necks and shoulders of others, yet when thus mounted, they were much your inferiours in respect of that higher degree, whereto your own deserts, and the duty of your subjects have rais'd and exalted you. You reach Heaven the more justly by submitting to tread earth, and go the farther beyond us, by vouchsafing to walk with us.

25. Nor do I fear (my Lords) to be thought too tedious on this Subject: Since it is chiefly to be wish'd that the particulars, for which a just return of
thanks

thanks is due to Princes, should be many; and many indeed they are, which it would be more manners to stifle and pass by unobserv'd, than to be short and abrupt in the delivery of them: Because it naturally happens, that what is designedly conceal'd is by such cunning suppression better set off, than if it were slightly and trivially express'd. Though indeed I can but concisely touch at his generous enriching of several Families, his frank bestowing of a Largess on the people, and that the whole of what he had promis'd, when the Souldiers receiv'd no more than a part of their Donative. This was an Argument of no ordinary spirit, to give most to those whom he might best have deny'd: Yet this odds was in other respects made up, and neither side was left to brag, or complain of an inequality: The Souldiers had a part onely, but then they were first serv'd: The people were forc'd to wait, but then their patience was rewarded with a Receipt of the whole. How impartial and equal was the Dividend made? How carefull were you that none should be defrauded of their share? It was allow'd even to those, who had not first been nomi-

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nominated, but were deputed in the room of others: So that those tasted of your bounty, whom you, lay under no promise to relieve. If one happen'd to be detain'd by business, another by sickness, this by a voyage, that by travel, their just shares were preserv'd for them; and care taken that no ones distemper, employment, or absence should be his loss, but each appear at his own time, whenever his will, whenever his occasions would best dispence with him. It was generous and like your self (*Heroick Caesar*) to reach the most distant Countries by the extent of your liberality, to let no not the widest space set bounds to your munificence, to prevent the mischiefs of chance, to shackle up the powers of fortune, and so to contrive it, that at your dispersing a Largeess the worst infirmities of humanity should never balk your bounty, but every one be less sensible of his being a Man, than of being a free Denizen of *Rome*.

26. On the day of distributing such Largeesses, it was formerly the custome that shoals of young Children (the nursery and breed of a future people) us'd to flock in the streets, and wait the
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coming of the Prince; the Parents took great pains to shew him to their little ones, and to teach them some cursory form of petition, who accordingly prattled, as they were taught, and address'd their pretty gabble to the deaf Ears of the Prince, while not knowing either what they ask'd, or when they were deny'd, the grant was generally defer'd, till they came to years of more growth and understanding. Whereas you were so frankly generous, as to impart your charity without staying for the Ceremony of being entreated, and, though you took pleasure in looking upon Troops of Petitioners, yet you prevented their trouble of Address, and met them in your bounty, before they could approach you in Person. Nay you commanded the very Infants to be Enroll'd among the objects of your Royal care, that being Educated at your charge, they might from their Cradle acknowledge you their Foster Parent. You thought it but just and reasonable that those, who were bred for your service, should be bred at your expence: That they should be supported by a pension, till they were able to earn a pay: And so be all not more indebted
to

to their natural Parents for being born Infants, than to you for their being made Men. It is a discreet generosity (*Cæsar*) to discharge the expence of bringing up these budding hopes of *Rome*: There can be no disbursements to better advantage, none that will more effectually purchase you an immortal name, than what are thus laid out for the good of Posterity. The rich have encouragements to get Children from the several

* privileges they thereby gain, and to * Rehears'd
avoid such inconveniences which they in the Law
must otherwise undergo: The poor *de maritan-*
have but one inducement, and that is *dis ordinibus,*
the blessing of breeding up subjects to which was
so good a Prince. These Children thus *prefer'd by*
born to the alone use of his service, *Q. Metellus,*
except he cherish, feed, and maintain and reviv'd
them, he knows he should but hasten the by *Augustus*:
decay of his Empire, and push on the
ruine of the Commonwealth. For a Prince
who guards his Nobility with favour
and protection, while he leaves his Com-
monalty naked and defenceless, does but
provide for a tottering head with no limbs,
no body to poise or support it. It is easie
to guess what complacency you must
needs take in the being so loudly welcom'd
with the congratulating noise of all rela-
E 2 tions,

tions, of each Sex, and every age: To make up the joyfull Chorus, Children prattled their very first attempts to speak, those Children for whom you made so early provision, as freely to give, before their loosned Tongue had the power to ask. And indeed among all the other blessings of your Government, this must be accounted the most eminent, that it is a pleasure, nay a profit to be the Father of many Children.

27. The fondest Parents fear now no other dangers to ruine their hopes, than the bare casualties of humane frailty, nor among incurable mischiefs is the anger of the Prince any longer to be reckoned. A main encouragement to educate Children arises from the hopes of a liberal maintenance, and the prospect of honorable employs, but 'tis much more encouraging to breed them to the enjoyment of a fix'd liberty, and a secure unaltered property. Let a Prince take no care to enrich his subjects, so he attempts not to impoverish them, let him not maintain, so he does not destroy, and yet most persons, even under such an indifferent Government, would be desirous of Issue: But on the other hand,

hand, if he plunders more, than he bestows, if he ruine more Families, than he raises, it will unavoidably in a short while happen, that all will see reason to repent the birth of themselves and their Ancestours, as well as bewail that of their Children and posterity. But in the disposals of your bounty, as being entirely free from such extortion, I can commend nothing more justly, than that whatever you grant, was your own to bestow; not feeding your Subjects, as wild Beasts do their young, by the violent acquists of Murther and rapine: Your favours becoming alway the more acceptable, because those, who are oblig'd by them, know that no others were defrauded of them: And that for all the enrichments they receive no one is made poorer, but the Royal Donour onely and not properly he neither; for *being truly Lord of all Estates, he is owner of so much, as his Subjects possess.*

28. More copious matter of commendation seems now (*Cæsar*) to call me some other way: But why so soon diverted? As if I had enough insisted on, as if I had sufficiently respected and

admir'd your large and almost profuse beneficence not bestow'd by way of policy to bribe off those calumnies and slanders, your Conscience tells you, you had given just occasion for, nor to drown the discontents, and murmurs of your people, by the offer of a more comfortable Subject of discourse. You bought off the envy of no miscarriage by a wheedling Largess, nor aton'd for any illegal action by the settlement of a pension; neither was that at any time the ground of your doing good, to compound for the passing uncensur'd, in what you had done ill. The intent of your bounty was the purchase, not of excuse, but of love; and the people always return'd from your Courts of Judicature, not so much pacified for former abuses, as oblig'd by an assurance of never being injur'd. You offer'd your Largess with as much joy to give, as those to receive, as secure in your grants, as they in their acceptance: And that which some of your Predecessours disburs'd to calm the discontent of swelling spirits, and take off that *odium* they found themselves to lie under, this you distributed with as much of innocence and simplicity as others could possibly receive it. No less (my Lords)

Lords) than five thousand freemen has the good nature of our Prince sought for, found out, and reliev'd: These are the supplies of War, these the guards of peace, maintain'd at the publick charge, and thereby taught to respect their Countrey, not onely as their place of birth, but as their nurse and bringer up. Out of these are our Armies to be recruited, our Tribes fill'd up, and from the loins of these shall in time proceed such, whose liberal fortune shall secure them from all need of relief. Let the Gods give you (Great Sir) that length of days, your merits seem to challenge, and keep unchang'd that generous Soul, they have endow'd you with: And when you see the Roll of Infants, who are to be the objects of your aims, enlarg'd, (for their numbers do daily increase, not because Children are better belov'd of their Parents, but subjects of their Prince) you may relieve them if you please, you may maintain them if you see fit, if not, it is enough that *they are born to obey, and must discharge their allegiance without bribe or reward.*

29. It may well be reckoned one continued Large of our Prince, that he

has contriv'd to furnish our City with a never failing supply of Corn: Which piece of provident husbandry added heretofore no less glory to *Pompey*, than his regulating Elections by a law against purchase of Votes, his scouring the Seas of Pirates, and making the East and West a successive subject of his triumphs. This one project of stocking *Rome* with a constant import of provisions, equall'd, nay exceeded the best of his other Achievements. With the same care, the same charity, has our Prince made the high-ways securely passable, clear'd the Ports, frighted away the fears of plunder and robbery, as well in journeys by Land, as voyages at Sea: And made so open an intercourse of trade and commerce between the most distant Nations, as if those commodities, which are the growth but of one Countrey, were the native product of all. With joy we find that the wants of each year are abundantly supplied with the yield and encrease of it, and this brought to our own homes without force or compulsion. We do not plunder nor rifle our Allies, we do not cheat their Barns of the promis'd Harvest, but let them quietly carry in what their fields afford, what the

the several seasons do allow: Nor do we charge them so thick with fresh taxes, as to disable them from paying off their old Arrears. The publick treasury does not steal, what it professes to purchase, but honestly buys in stores of provisions, which are again so vended without fraud or exaction, that we have plenty at home, and yet make no dearth or scarcity abroad.

30. *Egypt* has always brag'd of being a fertile nurcery of Corn, and that without being indebted to the Charity of the Heavens, without needing the relief of refreshing showers: For she is sufficiently moistned by the Waters of her own River, whose customary overflowings have so fatned and enrich'd her soil, that she seems a Storehouse to other Nations, and might with modesty be entitled the Granary of the World. This very Countrey by a surprising drought was parch'd and withred into one continued Wilderness: For *Nilus* shrunk back, and would not overpass its banks, but like other Rivers ran on in a bounded and confin'd chanel. So that vast tracts of land by being thus deprived of their accustom'd moisture dried and crumbled
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into the most barren dust and sand. In vain did *Egypt* now expect comfort from the denying clouds, in vain did she gape for any blessing from the skies, since the wonted Authour of her fall Barns sunk down and contracted her plenty into as narrow a compass, as his own streams. Nor did the unconstant River keep up to those banks which were wont to be his shortest bounds, but crept yet lower, and seem'd to attempt the sneaking away undiscovered, leaving the shallows of his own bottom as dry and scorch'd, as any other parts of the Sun-burnt desarts. The hungry people thus loosing the benefits of a wish'd-for inundation, and thereby the hopes of all food and sustenance, direct those prayers to *Cesar*, which in vain they had spent on their unregarding River: While placing their devotions now aright, their petitions were answer'd, as soon as heard. Thus swift (O Empe-
rour) is the reach of your power, thus dispatchfull upon all occasions your Acts of Mercy, that the most miserable need use no other methods of relief, than barely to let you know their wants.

31. I wish indeed plenteous Crops and fruitfull years to the several inhabitants of each part of the World: Yet I cannot but believe that *Egypt*s being plagu'd with this miserable dearth was a mere trick of fortune to try your power, and make proof of your extensive care and vigilance. For since your merits claim success in all attempts, it is apparent that whatever deplorable chances happen, they are onely to afford fresh matter and new subjects for the employ of your undaunted vertues: *Prosperity indeed may make men happy, but misfortunes alone can approve them great.* It has been a long receiv'd opinion that *Rome* could not feed her inhabitants without supplies from *Egypt*: This made that haughty Province boast, that the Conquerours of the World were beholden to her for their bread, and at her disposal must they either feast or starve. We have now quitted the obligation, and repaid the utmost of what she could charge upon us: She has receiv'd back that Corn she was wont to export, and recall'd those stores she has formerly dispenc'd. Let *Egypt* therefore learn, let her by this experiment believe,
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that she gives us not a necessary sustenance, but pays us a justly impos'd tribute : Let her know we can live without her assistance better than she without our protection. Let *Nilus* now, as oft as the sullen humour takes him, stick to his own chanel, and be shackled to an imprisonment within his own banks, *Rome* scorns to be concern'd, and *Egypt* self will feel no worse effect, than that her Vessels must launch out empty as they were wont to return, and take in their Cargo here at *Rome* where they were us'd to unlade : While the method of their trading being thus alter'd, they may change their devotion, and turn their prayers for a safe Voyage out to a fair wind home. It had been next to a miracle (*Cæsar*) if these wants of *Egypt* had not enhanc'd the price of Corn, and made a much greater scarcity at *Rome*, but that your providence had so well stock'd it, as to have enough to spare, and give the World a proof that *Rome* without *Egypt* might well subsist, but *Egypt* never without *Rome*. Here had been an end of a most flourishing Nation, had it been a free and independent State ; they were asham'd of their unaccustom'd dearth, and their never yet

yet experienc'd hunger made them blush no less than pine: While your opportune charity, with one and the same kindness both spar'd their modesty, and reliev'd their wants. Their husbandmen were surpris'd to see Corn, which was not of their own growth, and wonder'd from whence the Harvest came, or in what other part of *Egypt* there had been an overflowing *Nile*: Thus did your bounty correct the barrenness of their soil, and their deserting River at this lowest ebb never rose higher to the glory of *Rome*.

32. What a blessing is it for all Nations to be brought under the subjection of our Empire, since they are thereby engag'd to pay Allegiance to a Prince, who can dispence out plenty here and there according as different times and occasions require? Who can feed and nurture a Foreign Province with as much of tenderness, as if it were a Colony onely of Roman Citizens. Nay the extent of his influence does in some measure outreach even that of the Heavens themselves: For those glorious Orbs are never so lavish of their blessings, as in the same year to disperse the same
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portion of them through all Countries and Climates; whereas he, with the same open hand toward all, if he does not prevent a dearth, does at least redress the mischiefs of it: If he command not a plenty, he does at least correct the niggardness of nature, and makes full amends for whatever she peevishly detains. He brings the widely distant East and West to meet, and to a wonderfull embrace in an interchangeable commerce: So that whatever is the growth of one place, or the desire of another may every where be had, and equally enjoy'd. From this happiness let all Nations be convinc'd, how much more for their advantage it is to be united under the Government of one, than by a specious liberty to be crumbled into thousands of weak and helpless parties: For *if separate and independent from each other, their mischiefs would be peculiar, and their blessings incommunicate: But when confederate and intermix'd, their evils are abated by falling not singly on themselves, and their benefits enlarg'd by being imparted to others.* But with respect to Egypt, whether something of Divinity wait on their soil, or some Genius attend their River

River, I hope both their Earth and their Waters will treasure up that Corn, our Prince bestows, in such sort, as in time to restore it multiplyed: Not that we shall demand any interest for the Loan, but that we would have them confess an obligation to pay it. Let them make amends for the loss of one years crop by a long unintermitted yield of plenty, which let them measure out to us the more freely, as we are the more sparing to exact.

33. Having thus provided for the advantages both of your subjects and Allies, having thus secured our profit, you come now to consult our pleasure: And present us with magnificent Shews, not trifling, or of a short continuance, not corrupting the Spectatours to vice or debauchery, but improving their courage, and leading them on to a generous scorn of wounds, and more noble contempt of death; while they see an eager pursuit of glory and an ambitious quest of victory even in the basest slaves, and most wretched of Malefactours. And in setting forth these Plays, how unparallel'd your bounty, how exact your justice, above all prejudice for one faction,

faction, or partially for another? Whenever we ask'd, you frankly gave, nay, offer'd more than we had the confidence to desire. You seem'd to chide our bashfulness, and invited us on to a freedom of petitioning, while from hence we were oblig'd with many fresh and unexpected favours. Then how free was it to come to these diversions? How safe to declare our approbation or dislike? No person argued of impiety, as was sadly wont, for houting or condemning any particular gladiatour. No Spectatour was himself made a spectacle to pay for his dear-bought pleasure at the heavy price of Fire and Gibbet. He

* *Domitian.*

* was little better than raving mad, and had no right estimate of true honour, who drew treason from the most sportive actions, nay the very looks of Spectatours, who thought we affronted him, if we ador'd not his Fencers, who believ'd the flighting of their skill was a contempt of his own Majesty, having no less a conceit, than that he himself was a God, and they his Princely Representatives, and so took as to himself what indignities were offer'd to them.

34. Instead of this bloody, this accursed shew, how fair, how innocent a one have you oblig'd us with? We have now seen false Evidences, and suborn'd Informers punish'd with the same severity, as Thieves and Murtherers: This sort of plague did lately so far spread, that they sculk'd not in corners or unfrequented places, but throng'd the Temples, and crouded the Courts of Justice; At the mercy of these Rascals lay every man's life and estate, no degree, no condition secure, the being a Father or being childless was a like criminal, when these Villains were agreed to make it so. To this fatal mischief in former times the spleen and avarice of our Princes has much contributed. But you nobly resolv'd to correct this abuse, and when you had reform'd the discipline of the Camp, you came to regulate the proceedings of your Courts of Justice too. You stop'd the farther growth of this accursed gangrene, and by a well tim'd severity took care that your Imperial City, founded and supported by Laws, should not be ruin'd by the illegal execution of them. And therefore though your fortune, and your bounty have

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conspir'd to oblige us with the sports, sometime of strong and bulky men, now of savage beasts, then of wild ones to a wonder tam'd, and finally with an exposing to open view those * Rarities till now hoarded and lock'd up from publick sight: Yet have you done nothing more honourable, nothing more becoming the glories of your Reign, than your just retribution of suborn'd witnesses: We fed our eyes with seeing them drawn through the Streets to the place of execution, we look'd and blest our selves at the comfortable sight, when (like victims to atone for the blood their perjuries had shed) they were drag'd away to make the same ignominious end, they had brought so many innocent souls to. Some of them in order to be transported were thrust on shipboard, and delivered over to the mercy of storms and billows: deservedly were they expell'd that Countrey their misinformations had laid desolate. If any of them hap'd to escape the Justice of Winds and Sea, they should be landed on barren Rocks, and unfrequented Shores, there to drudge out a laborious, and a miserable life, far from all Societies, which they were not fit to be members of.

35. A memorable sight this ! A fleet of Evidences turn'd loose to grapple with the Winds who spread their sails together in the storms, and fly before the driving waves, till their Carriere be stopt by dashing against some surly Rock. A gallant prospect from the safer Shore to view the rambling Navy tofs'd and scatter'd through the foaming Ocean ! And a fit occasion this of fresh gratitude to our Prince, who preserving his Clemency untainted, has delivered over these criminals to the justice of the Sea and the Gods thereof. A notable instance this of what alterations short times may produce, when to those very desarts, where the innocent were lately so injuriously banish'd, the guilty are now most justly confin'd : And all those savage Islands so lately fill'd with falsely accused Senatours, are now more properly stock'd with these perfidious Informers ; whom you have not onely curb'd or stifled for the present, but by penalties answerable to their black crimes totally quell'd and suppress them for ever. If any now attempt to cheat others of their livelyhood, they must lose their own, if they would dispossess others of

their homes, they must turn out themselves. Nor can they elude the intent of the Law, or shuffle off the sentence of the Judge; they cannot shift with a cold iron, which shall make no mark, nor impression, nor can they laugh at those torments, that never hurt them. Their Fines must be now proportion'd to their faults, their hopes of escape must be now less, than their fear of smart, and they must dread others as much, as they themselves were lately dreaded. With a noble courage did the Divine *Titus* begin to secure us from these mischiefs by the guard of severe and seasonable Edicts, and in gratitude for this attempt was he deservedly deified. How much more justly hereafter (yet long may the coming of that hereafter be) shall you be worthy of the same divine honours, who have built upon and completely finish'd those Laws, which at the rough foundation were thought meritorious of entitling him a God? The difficulty of this accomplishment was much the greater upon this account, that the Emperour *Nerva*, who deserv'd you for his Son, deserv'd you his Successeur, made so many additions to this Edict of *Titus*, that he seem'd to leave
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no room for your completing hand; and yet you have so far enlarg'd it, as if nothing had been done before. Any of these Reformations singly dispens'd would have been highly gracious, and well accepted of, but you pour'd them forth all at once, like the Sun and beams of day, which sprinkle not their light by fits and parcels, but dart it forth in discontinued streams, not confin'd to particular corners, but expanded through the whole surface of the World.

36. What a blessing is it to see the Treasury free and unoppressive, in as profound a quiet, as before all disturbances created by Informers? It is now a Temple indeed, and the * Deity, it * *Saturn.* was dedicated to, does there certainly reside: It is no longer a drainer of the People, a repository of exactions or dishonest gains, and there is now one place at least, where the innocent are no longer made a prey to the unjust. Yet are all lawfull dues levied to the full, and no abatements made of what would be injurious to the Republick to lose: Nor are the penalties remitted to any, whom a fair trial shall convict: Yet is there a free Process for recovery

of damages upon malicious or suborn'd accusers: And, in short, the case is so well alter'd, that men fear the Laws, not the Informers. But perhaps you have not taken so much care in regulating of your private Exchequer, as of the Treasury? Yes, the greater, by how much more boldly you can dispose of your own, than of what belongs to the publick. Your Advocate, your Attorney may be now cited, and proceeded against, as the Law directs: For justice may be now had against them, as well as against ordinary Offenders, their penalties the same or greater, if you measure their punishment by the greatness of their figure and quality. Not the Princes will and pleasure, but Lots and an Urn, the common method of Elections, assign a Judge to the Exchequer: And if any be otherwise promoted, it is free to reject him, and to say of one, he is unqualified because he is timorous, and does not sufficiently understand the interest of his Countrey, and of another he is more fit for the employ, because he is true to his Countrey, and loyal to his Prince. *Cæsar* and his subjects try out their Titles at the same Bar: And what, Sir, is to your eternal credit, your
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Exchequer is often cast, which yet can never come to the worst but under a good Prince. This is great obligation, and what a greater yet, that your Advocates are all persons of such integrity that the people desire no other Counsel, no other Judges, though it be free, for any not to entertain them, or to appeal from them: For though you assign them, you leave it to our choice to comply or refuse, knowing it is the highest grace of Royal favours to have the liberty of not accepting them.

37. The charges and expence of Government impose a necessity of taxes, which though they appear a burthen and grievance to particular persons, yet is that seeming inconvenience vastly out-balanc'd by their promoting the welfare of the community. For this use and purpose was the twentieth part of all Legacies formerly assign'd: And this being light and easie to those heirs onely, who bore no relation to the deceas'd, but hard and grievous to the next of bloud, it was levi'd onely upon the one, and remitted to the other. Forasmuch as it was apparent that men would not without reluctance, or rather

not at all, endure to have any part embezelled or par'd off from that Estate, which their birth had given them a title to, which was never the possession of a distinct family, or which they could but barely hope would be bequeathed to them, but which was their proper and immediate inheritance, and ought to pass downward by right of descent and proximity of blood. Yet was this exemption allow'd onely to the ancient Denizens, all the late-comers, whether enfranchis'd by the privilege that the Latins might claim, or by the boon and favour of the Prince, (except by expresse dispensation they had obtain'd the right of kindred) were in respect of the nearest relation accounted as no better than Aliens. Thus what was design'd for the greatest ease and benefit, was soon perverted into the greatest grievance. The City of *Rome* was fill'd with jars, discords, and breaches in families, while the next heirs without any undutifull or disobliging carriage were in a manner disinherited and debarr'd their right. Yet were some so fond of the honour of being incorporated with us, that they thought not onely the forfeiture of the twentieth part of their estates, but the loss

loss of kindred was abundantly recompenc'd by the title of *Roman* Citizens : Though upon those who priz'd it at so high a value it ought the more freely to have been conferr'd. Your Father *Nerva* therefore did hereupon decree, that what goods past from the Mother to the Children, or from the Children to the Mother (though at their being Indenizen'd they had not receiv'd the right of cognation) should not be liable to this tribute of the twentieth part. The same immunity he allow'd to a Son as heir to his Father, (provided he were not emancipated from his Father's power and disposal) thinking it unjust, oppressive, and almost impious to exact any thing in cases of so near alliance, and judging it no less than some sort of Sacrilege to cut asunder the holy ties of relation by so sharp and rigid an imposition : Nor could he digest it as at all reasonable, that any Tax should so be rais'd, as to make Fathers and Children strangers to each other.

38. Thus far went your Royal Predecessour, wherein though he fell short perhaps of the best of Princes, he came up at least to the best of Fathers : For
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being to adopt one of as large a Soul as himself, he betray'd this generous piece of indulgence, that he would but slightly begin and barely set the example, leaving to his Son an entire, and almost unattempted Field of glory. Immediately therefore to his Charity did your munificence farther add, that as the Son in the inheritance of his Father, so the Father in that of the Son should be exempt from all encumbrances, and by his unhappy ceasing to be a parent, not lose the advantage of his once having been so. It is an Heroical mercy of you (*Cæsar*) not to exact Tribute of tears, nor to make a Father's loss your gain. Parents shall now succeed to what their Children died possess'd of, without fraud or diminution; nor indeed would it be any way just, that they should have partners in their inheritance, who have none in their sorrows. No persons left Childless are call'd to account amidst their fresh and undigested grief, nor is the Father compell'd to bring in an Inventory of what was left him by his Son. Our Prince's unparallel'd bounty herein will appear the more admirable, if I knew the grounds and reasons of it: For it may indeed be deservedly reputed

an ambition, vain glory, profuseness, or any worse name, rather than liberality, if not grounded on some firm and solid reason. Your motives therefore for thus doing were what are highly, Sir, worthy of your Clemency, to abate the afflictions of disconsolate parents, and, after the shrewd temptation of one loss, not superadd the trial of another. It is indeed misery enough for a mournfully surviving Father to be sole heir to a dear departed Son, without the dividing with a co-heir contrary to the will and knowledge of the deceas'd. Farther, when divine *Nerva* had decreed that Children coming to an enjoyment of their Fathers Estates should be exempt from a payment of the twentieth part, it was but reasonable this privilege should extend to those inheritances, which pass from Sons to Fathers, as well as from Father to Son: For why should Children have the advantage of their Parents, and why should not the same equity ascend? This exception (*Cæsar*) is by you remov'd, and the Father made capable to succeed the Son, supposing the Son to have been in his Father's power, which supposal too you took always for granted, having respect to that prime
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and fundamental Law of Nature, which does at no time acquit Children from a subjection to their Parents, *nor allows to Rational beings, what is wildly practis'd among brutes alone, that strength should give the onely Title to Dominion and Command.*

39. Neither would our Prince rest satisfied to exempt the first degree of blood from an imposition of the twentieth part; but his goodness scorning these limits flies beyond, and endows the second likewise with the same privilege. So that the Brother in the Sisters Estate, the Sister again in the Brothers, the Grandfather and Grandmother in that of the Grandchildren, and these again in that of theirs, should come to a free enjoyment without tax or composition. And to those, who by the right of *Latium* were made free of *Rome*, he granted the same immunities, allowing in all consanguinity a free passage to the direct course of nature: Which are favours indeed that former Princes were content to be petition'd for, yet not with so much intention of shewing their Prerogative to grant, as their power to deny. Hence may we aptly learn what
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a generous Soul it argued to gather up and reunite our scatter'd, and as it were divorc'd Families, to regraft and so husband them as that fresh branches may shoot forth from the first paternal stocks: to comply with that which has been so often refus'd, to give to all in common what particular favourites could never obtain; and finally, to bar himself of so many occasions of exerting his Prerogative in conferring these favours as extraordinary on them, whose loyalty had deserv'd 'em, and in detaining them from such, who had been factious or ungratefull. He deem'd it, I believe, unreasonable that petition should be made to an earthly Prince for what the Gods themselves by a branch of their eternal law had long since past into a natural charter. If by birth you are Brothers and Sisters, Grandfather and Grandchildren, or such like relations, this title exempts you from the foremention'd tax, without any other Ceremony of peculiar licence. The Emperour, affording this farther instance of his humanity parallel to all the former, thinks it as invidious to make a mock gift of what was your own by a Precedent property, as it would be unjust to take whatever
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you are legally possess'd of. With courage therefore, and a bold assurance stand for honours, sue for offices, this breach and interruption of descents shall be no bar to your hopes or designs. All shall entirely enjoy the same proximity of blood, they did before, with more of freedom, more of privilege. Nay the most remote, and just ceasing degrees of affinity, in conveyances of small or but competent estates, shall be eas'd of this contribution of the twentieth part: For our indulgent Prince has impos'd it onely on those plentiful fortunes, that can well afford to bear it out.

40. A low and slender inheritance shall be eas'd from this burthen: In such cases the gratefull heir may bestow it on a Monument in memory of the Testatour, or may disburse it all in the charges of his Funeral, none to correct or restrain him, none to call him to account: For on whatever consideration the Legacy was bequeath'd him, he may arbitrarily dispose of it, as his own will or discretion shall direct. The Law for payment of the twentieth part is now so order'd, that a man must be very rich before he can come within the
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compass of it. What before was the subject of fear and grief, is now turn'd into joy, what was judg'd an oppression, is chang'd into ease and privilege: So as the heir not dreads, but wishes his Estate may come within the reach of this Law. By another clause of this Edict it is provided that those, who were in Arrears to the State for this tribute should be freely remitted, and without expence discharg'd. To remedy what is gone and past seems even beyond the power of the Gods themselves. Yet this have you perform'd: While past debts are outdated, and those persons, who long since contracted them, are neither now to owe, nor to pay hereafter. You so perfectly redress all our former grievances that there remains no token of our ever having suffer'd under evil Princes. Nay if your power were of equal extent with your mercy, or were not feasible, which is indeed not possible, you would not onely reinstate those, who had been injuriously outed of their possessions, but even restore to life as many, as without guilt or cause have been no better than formally murdered: But since you could not reinfuse their lost blood, you have

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at least redeem'd their spent fortunes, by forgiving those fines and lapses, which were made due in the Reign of your Predecessours. Another Prince would have been so incens'd at their being behind-hand in Arrears, that he would have punish'd their backwardness with a fine of double, nay perhaps fourfold value to the principal debt: But you think it equally dishonest to exact what was unjustly made due, as to make due, what would be injustice to exact.

41. Your frugal management (*Cæsar*) makes you fit for the care and charge of a Consul, whose proper office it is to manage and moderate the expences of the publick: For when I consider that you have remitted our Assessments, bestow'd a Donative, dispenc'd a Largess, expell'd Informers, and abated our Taxes, methinks you might well be question'd, whether you have so cast up your Revenues, as to provide for the necessary occasions of Empire: Or is there such magick in good husbandry, that a little well order'd can be able to suffice a vast expence, a prodigious munificence? What account can be given why other Princes, when

when they had scrap'd and rifled all they could hook in, and held fast whatever by any means they procur'd, were yet after all in beggary and want: Whereas you, who expend much, and yet take in but little, have always plenty, always to spare. Few of your Predecessours ever wanted such instruments, who with fowre looks and severe carriage were very punctual and rigorous in exacting the Imperial revenues. Nay some Princes themselves have from a stingy inclination been so very intent and watchfull, that they seem'd to need no Deputies, or Under-officers: While we were all along trepan'd to a falling out among our selves, and so help'd by informations to undoe each other. Whereas your ears, as they are guarded against all other insinuations, so they are more especially deaf to all fawning complaints. All persons therefore of that scandalous employ are now suppress'd and silenc'd, and there is none who will maliciously report, now there is none who will hastily believe. Thus are we beholden to you not onely for the goodness of your own Morals, but for the Reformation of ours.

42. The *Voconian* and *Julian* Laws though of great advantage did not pour in more fines to the Exchequer, than that one stratagem of bringing all persons upon any frivolous offence within the reach of Treason. This fright and danger you have now releas'd us from, in not being too jealous of your honour, which none have experienc'd more impair'd, than those, who have been unseasonably suspicious of encroachments on it. Friends are now made faithfull, Children dutifull, and Servants obedient. These last are reduc'd to a just awe and subjection, and taught to know that those they serve are masters of them. For they are not our Servants now who are made Confidants to our Prince, but we our selves: Nor does the Father of his Countrey, now listen to slaves more readily, than to the Lords of them. You have freed us from our family and home enemies, and by thus providing for the publick safety you have stifled and put an end to that *Servile War* which we were so long harast and afflicted with. Wherein you have not more oblig'd the Masters, than you have advantag'd the Servants too: For you have made these
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more honest, as well as more secure. All these redresses, I know, your modesty will scarce allow, to be commended, and suppose them not likely to be so, yet they must needs be gratefull to those who can well remember since a

* Prince suborn'd Servants to swear * *Domitian.*
against their Masters, and instructed them in what crimes they should accuse them of. This was a sad and deplorable mischief often experienc'd, where the Servants had no more of integrity, than the Prince had of honour or conscience.

43. In the same Catalogue of your vertues is this farther to be rank'd, that our last Wills are now secure, and the true intent of Testatours most religiously observ'd. You do not injuriously engross the whole upon an opportunity of being bequeath'd a part. No fraud, no forgery entitles you to undesign'd, Legacies. No ones displeasure at his nearer relations, no ones unnaturalness of passing by his own Children, no ones frenzy, or want of senses on his sick bed is the occasion of your being enrich'd: Nor is your favour or pardon by way of commutation hereby either brib'd or purchas'd. You are nam'd

Heir not to buy off other offences, but to reward your own merits. All dying persons are left entirely to their own choice: Your friends may remember you, strangers may pass you by: No distinction in this respect between the times of your being a private Subject, and your being now an Emperour, save that now your love to more, makes you deservedly the more belov'd. Keep on, *Cæsar*, in this method, and you will soon experience, that it will highly advance not onely your reputation, but your interest, that persons should assign you their Heir, out of mere kindness and affection, rather than out of fear or compulsion. Many Families did your Father's bounty raise, many Estates have you your self bestow'd: If any of these men, who owè their whole fortunes to the Crown, be at their death so ungrateful, as to make no return, the affront is past by unreveng'd, those who were appointed Heirs are allow'd a quiet possession, and you are content with no other requital, than the glory of doing good unrewarded: And indeed a *thankfull receiver makes us better pleas'd with our favours, but a churlish and ungrateful one renders us the more to be admir'd*
for

for them : Though which of your Predecessours car'd to prefer the credit of the one before the profit of the other? Which of them did not think he had a just title to recall what he had formerly given? Nay the very gifts of our Princes, like those of cajoling Tyrants, have been mere hooks cover'd o'er with gaudy baits, snares lin'd with some specious trepan, till seizing and entangling the good-natur'd prey, they drew in whatever was so credulous, as to fasten on them.

44. How much does it conduce to a better deportment to come at ease and prosperity through the rougher road of hardships and trouble? This trial, and this improvement of it did you make : You far'd no better than we did, you were surrounded with perpetual fears and dangers, which were then the attending alarms of all the innocent. You knew and had experience how much ill Princes were hated even by those whose flattery made them ill. You remember while a subject, what, with the rest of us, you were wont to wish, and what as apt to complain of. You now are what you judg'd others ought to be ;

may you are better than you even wish'd those others to have been. And we now so inur'd to the blessings of an easie Government, that whereas before the top of our wishes was a Prince, but indifferent, and somewhat better than the worst, we can now be content with none, but absolutely the best. There is no one therefore so ignorant of your abilities, or so much a stranger to his own infirmities, as to be ambitious of coming after so unparallel'd a President. Nay so conscious must they all be of the impossibility of reaching up to your example, that it must be hereafter more easie to be your Successour, than it is before hand to wish the being so. For who would covet to undergo the same weight of care? Or who can presume to acquit himself with any tolerable comparison to your unequal'd excellence? Even you your self were sensible what a difficulty and disadvantage it was to succeed a good Prince, and on that account were backward and unwilling to be Adopted. Is it a pattern so easie to be copied after, that no person is now tempted to debauch himself for a purchase of pardon to his other misdemeanours? Life; and the reputation of life
honesty,

honesty, are both now guarded from all assault and violation. It is not now thought policy for persons of a strict and severe carriage to retire from the notice of the Court, and bury themselves up in private. For there is now the same encouragement given to all vertues, as in the purest of former times. Nor is welldoing rewarded onely by the complacence of a good Conscience, but by a farther and more publick recompence. You love a fix'd and resolute temper in your subjects, and their greatness of spirit you do not, like other Princes, check and restrain, but indulge and promote. The honest and upright meet now with preferment, who heretofore wish'd for nothing but excuse: On these you confer Honours, Offices, Employments: These your friendship courts, these your judgment esteems, while your favours whet on their industry of being good, and make their integrity more resolv'd, when they see it so well accepted. Nay the vitious are hereby deter'd, as well as the vertuous encourag'd. For a reward of the good makes others out of policy honest, as well as a punishment of the bad affrights others on the same grounds from being

evil. There be few of so sound a judgment as not to take the measures of Justice and dishonesty, as they respect their interest, and accordingly adhere to the one or the other, as it best suits with their gain and advantage. The far greater numbers of mankind observe what courses will be most beneficial, and when they see the wages of industry paid to sloth, of activeness to sleep, and of temperance to luxury, they take up a counterfeit profession of those arts they see others thrive so well upon; they personate and aim at the seeming like them so long, till at last they become in truth what they design'd to be in appearance onely.

45. Most of our former Princes, except your Father, and one or two more, (perhaps I may have over numbred them) were better pleas'd with the vices, than with the vertues of their subjects: first because it was natural in them to be delighted with those, who were nearest their own humour, and then they suppos'd such would be most crouching and patient under Tyranny, whose debaucheries had already enslav'd them; in the bosome therefore of these they emptied
their

their bounties, and their secrets: But the just and sober were glad to be cloister'd up in privacies and retirements, them they never call'd out on the Stage, but to affront, to accuse, and persecute. Whereas contrary to these shamefull abuses, you chuse your friends out of the best and most conscientious: And indeed there is some Justice, that they should be the favourites of a good Prince, who were the hatred of a bad one. You, know, that as boundless Tyranny and legal Sovereignty are of a much different nature, so *none loves the Prince better, than he, who most abhors the Tyrant*. And these you animate and incite to all that's good and glorious, setting your self as a great Exemplar, and by your own Morals giving proof what course of life, what sort of men, you are best pleas'd with. You have not therefore taken on you the Censureship or superintendency of Manners, because you would win upon our dispositions more by allurements, than Correction. And indeed it is hard to determine by which of these methods a Governour shall more easily reform a People, by barely suffering them to be good, or by compelling them to be so.

We

We are pliable and ductile, prepar'd to follow wherever our Prince shall lead the way: To be endear'd to him, and approv'd by him is our utmost ambition (which yet is an honour that those, who are not like him can never hope to arrive to.) And in short by your steady attention to his example, we all transcribe the same Copy, and strive to resemble that one Original: For indeed we should be very dull and awkward if we, who had readily learn'd of a bad Prince, should not be as forward in the imitation of a good one. Go on, *Cæsar*, and the influence of your actions shall be as powerfull, as the Authority of a Censor: For the Life of a Supreme Governour is indeed a Censorship, and that a standing, unchangeable one, by that we are directed, by that we are sway'd, not by the force of command, but the persuasiveness of Precedent. And fear indeed is but an unfaithfull guide to vertue: Men are much better wrought upon by examples, which have no convenience that they demonstrate to be feasible, whatever they recommend.

46. And what terrour could have enforc'd that which a respect to you has easily

easily effected. One * of your Prede- * *Domitian.*
cessours got the People to comply with
taking away the spectacle of the *Panta-*
mimes, yet was this permission extorted
rather than freely granted. But now
you are intreated to doe, what the other
compell'd the doing of and that did now
commence a favour, which before was
a necessity. Nor were there fewer
Petitions or less unanimous Addresses to
you for the taking them away, than
there had been to your Father for resto-
ring them: And herein, though acting
directly opposite, you both did well;
for what by an evil Prince had been
remov'd, ought to have been restor'd,
and when on that account restor'd, ought
for severai other reasons again to be
remov'd; for *even where an ill person*
does well, there may lie a just exception
against the Authour, but none against the
Action. The same people therefore, that
were both spectatours and applauders
of a mimical † Emperour, do now dislike † *Nero.*
the trifling Pantomimes, and condemn
such effeminate sports, as corruptive,
and debasing, of the manly Genius of
the times; from whence it is obvious to
collect, that the example of Princes does
influence the very rabble and vulgar, so
that

that if the one be serious and severe, the other correct their looseness and immediately conform. Proceed now, *Cæsar*, and advance that glory your gravity has gain'd: Let that steadiness of temper, which has generally been branded for state and pride, be now deservedly esteem'd the result of virtue and good Morals. By this voluntary imitation of you, persons have chastiz'd their own vices, who ought to have been chastiz'd out of them: And they have reform'd themselves, who needed by punishments to have been reform'd by others; so that none find reason to complain of your severity, though all have a freedom to complain: And so indeed does it always happen, that people never complain less of any Prince, than of him, who allows them the greatest liberty so to doe. But under your Reign the most malicious can find no occasion of complaint: All management of affairs is a subject of content, all of joy. The good are prefer'd, and the bad (which is the securest state of society) neither fear nor are fear'd, knowing they shall not unjustly be accus'd themselves, nor daring unjustly to accuse others. You remedy all our distempers, yet
at

at our own entreaties, at our own request; and whomever you make good, you add this farther obligation to the favour, that it was not what you impos'd or enforc'd, but what they themselves desir'd.

47. By your conduct how well order'd the life, how regulated the manners of our *Roman* youth? What trouble, what charge do you spare for in a Princely Education of them? What encouragement do you give to Masters of Rethoricks? What countenance and advancement to Philosophers? So that under your patronage our studies are animated with life, vigour and a safe repose, which the dull cruelty of former ages persecuted into flight and banishment: While the Prince conscious of his own vices expell'd those arts, which would be sure to reprehend them, not so much out of hatred, as fear of coming within their lash and reproof. But these same arts you embrace, entertain, and give attention to: You readily perform whatever they enjoyn, and love them as eagerly, as you are deservedly approv'd by them. Every Professour in each part of learning, after all your other
other

other excellent endowments, must more especially commend your easiness of access. With an open and hospitable soul your Father over his Palace Gates set up this Inscription, *The Publick Buildings*, but in vain he had done this, except he had adopted a Son, *who would have liv'd in publick* : And how well does the course of your life agree with this Motto, so exactly indeed that it seems invented by none, but your self: For what Courts, what Temples are more open and passable? Not the Capitol it self, that place of your adoption, has more of company, more of resort. There be no Bars, no rough denial of entrance, no hard language nor affronts, and after an escape through a thousand Guards and Centinels, no excluding at last from the presence Chamber. A profound stilness is all around you, but the greatest about your Person. Every where such becoming silence, such awfull quiet, that the Imperial Court may well present her self, as a pattern of modesty to the smallest family, and most humble cottage.

48. How familiarly you entertain all comers? How patiently you expect them?

them? Dedicating one entire part of the day to this diversion, though so much taken up with more serious and urgent affairs. So that we come to pay our Addressees, not in a timorous hurry, not as if we ran for our life, and the loss of our heads were to be the forfeit of our slackness, but leisurely and as our own conveniency will best admit of. Nay when the Prince does purposely attend our waiting on him, we may make so bold as to absent, if any necessary occasions detain us at home: And for this rudeness we need make no elaborate excuse, your goodness forgives sooner than our submission can acknowledge the offence. For you know it is every man's comfort and ambition, as well as his duty, to visit you frequently, to wait on you often, and therefore to enlarge our joy you give a freer and more repeated admission to your presence. Nor to bestow these customary salutes must we search you out in retirements and solitudes, but we enter your Palace, and there engage in a familiar converse with you, as if your Court were an Ordinary or place of publick entertainment for all, which lately that timorous * Monster * *Domitian* had fortified with whatever might strike
a terror

a terrour and amazement : While turning his Palace into a lurking den, he sometime there suck'd the blood of his nearest relations, and at other times fallied out to worry and devour the noblest prey, he could seize or trepan. Terrour and threatnings were without, within dread and danger ; so that it seem'd alike perilous to be either admitted or excluded. Add to this, the monster himself was fatal to meet, ghastly to look on, pride in his Forehead, fury in his Eyes, a womanish paleness in his Body, impudence shining through his Face in fiery redness, that argued more of blood, than blush : None could presume to approach him, none might dare to salute him, never peeping out of his dark retirements, never creeping forth from his belov'd confinement, except by rapine and desolation to make as great a solitude of those places he should visit, as of those he left.

49. Yet within these walls and apartments he harbour'd the Traytours, he nurs'd up the conspiracy, and enclos'd with himself the revenger of his Villanies, Providence. His long call'd for punishment broke through the Guards,
and

and rush'd on through bolts and fasten'd
Gates, as easily as if open doors and a
clear passage had seem'd to egg and in-
vite it. His usurp'd pretence of divi-
nity could then avail him nothing, and
in vain did he hope for shelter in those
Closets and withdrawing Rooms, where
he had wont so often to retire out of a
fear, a scorn, and a hatred of mankind.
How much more safe, how much more
secure is the same Palace, now it is no
longer impannell'd with trenches and
baricadoes, no longer fenc'd with the
engins of cruelty, but fortified alone by
the arts of love? While experience
hereby learns this one great Truth that
a Prince's strongest Guard is his own Inno-
cence: And to need no defence is the
most inaccessible fort, the strongest bul-
wark. In vain does he encompass him-
self with terrour, who is not first sur-
rounded with loyalty and love: His
jealousies serve but to augment his
dangers, and arms of defence invite on
weapons of execution. Nor are they
your serious hours onely, which you
spend in our sight and society: Do
you not joyn company with us as fre-
quently in your repasts and diversions?
Are not your meals always publick,
H and

and your table free for all comers? Do you not take as great a pleasure in feasting us, as we do a pride in being your guests? Are you not willing and patient to hear our impertinencies, and do you not invite us on to a freedom of discourse? The time allotted to these banquets does not your humanity toward us enlarge, as much as temperance toward your self would abridge and contract? You do not make a full meal by your self in private, and then sit gravely at the upper end of a publick table, making remarks and observations on the humours and behaviours of the guests. You do not belch from an overcharg'd stomach, and affront rather than feast your deluded friends by setting before them such dishes, which you your self scorn to touch or taste of: Nor hating the hurry and uneasiness of such croud'd entertainments do you withdraw to hidden rarities, and a retir'd gluttony. Farther we admire not the costliness of your plate dishes, nor the exquisite cookery, nor the stately serving them up, but your endearing pleasantness, your obliging civility, which we can never nauseate, never surfeit upon: All your good humours
being

being natural, unfeign'd, and occasionally poiz'd with a becoming gravity. Your table is not tainted with foreign superstition, nor debauch'd with light gestures, or loose talk, but there is a gracious welcome, an inoffensive jocose rallying, and many times learn'd and profitable discourse. After this well-husbanded expence of the day, you betake your self to sleep and repose, which are always short and sparing, as if you grudg'd the loss of time never more, than when you spent it out of our sight and company.

50. And if we thus share in the enjoyment of whatever you possess, how absolute, how unencroach'd upon is our own propriety? You do not by any illegal methods shuffle out the true owners, to engross and seize upon any pleasant ponds, delightfull lakes, or goodly forests; nor do the fountains, the Fountains, and the Ocean serve onely for the prospect of one Imperial Landlord. *Cæsar* can now see more than he will strictly call his own, and he is satisfied that his Empire should be of a larger extent than his Crown lands. Nay he has refunded into the Empire

much of his own hereditary Estate, which his Predecessours held, not so much to enjoy themselves as to hinder others from the enjoyment of them. Therefore the stately Seats and Manors of Noblemen their proper Lords inhabit : Nor are the fair Mansions of great persons either impair'd by the prodigal abuse of servants, or decay'd by the ruining mischief of standing empty. We may now view these noble edifices lifting up their long drooping heads, and rising, like those Birds of the East, out of their own ashes. Herein, *Cæsar*, you highly merit not onely of the Inhabitants, but of the very houses, by repairing the ruines, banishing their solitude, and reprieving from a burial in the dust these magnificent structures with as much of gallantry of soul, as they first were built with : These very roofs and walls, though mute and senseless, do in a manner tell forth your praise, and as loudly proclaim their own joy, that they are brush'd up to a decency and neatness, that they are made tenantable, and have the honour to be inhabited by Gentlemen, not by slaves. This Prince now frankly exposes to sale the whole Inventory of those goods,
which

which were the cursed extortion of that
* other, who still scrap'd on for bigger * *Domitian*,
heaps, though he had already more
than he knew how to use. Then it was
death or, at the lightest, sequestration
to have a larger house or fairer seat:
But now our Prince seeks out those
persons, who were thus wrongfully ex-
pell'd, and with justice reinstates them in
their former possessions. Those grounds,
which were the Garden of a late profuse
† Emperour, and those other adjacent † *Nero*,
fields, which seem'd the Suburbs of *Cæ-*
sar, not of the City, we can now either
hire, buy or build upon. So great is the
Royal goodness, so secure is the condi-
tion of the present times, that the Prince
both thinks us worthy of Imperial
possessions, and we our selves are not
afraid of being thought so. Nor do you
allow us onely to purchase, but oft
make us as firm a title by deed of gift,
parting without any mercenary regard
with much of that Estate, which by
your choice and adoption was conferr'd
on you. You make over that to others,
which your merits procur'd to your self,
as if you thought nothing more your
own, than what you enjoy by the proxy
of your friends.

51. Yet is our Prince as provident in building, as he is thrifty in preserving : Therefore our streets do not rattle, our City does not tremble with the noise and weight of overladed Carriages, our houses are unhock'd, our Temples no longer aguish or palsical. Though you succeeded a Prince, who was but little solicitous of advancing his Revenues, yet you find enough remaining for your occasions, nay can spare something out of that small stock, he left you : And as your Father debar'd himself from the full exaction of what the fortune of the Empire gave him, so have you abridg'd your self in the use and expence of what your Father bequeath'd you. But notwithstanding this good husbandry in private concerns, how sumptuous and magnificent are you in whatever relates to the publick ? Here Castles, there Temples, with so much of dispatch and expedition, as if they could not be thought to be new built, but onely repair'd. Here the beautifying and enlargement of the great Cirque makes it so proud and lofty, that it dare challenge and vie with any of the best dedicated Mansions of the Gods : It is now
a place

a place fit for entertainment of the Conquerours of the World: Nor is the place it self, a less ravishing sight, than the most gaudy of those shews, that are there exhibited. Yet to view and admire the Architecture is not more delightfull, than to see that the Seats allotted to Prince and people are of the same level, all equal and uniform, no difference nor distance observ'd, no chair of State assign'd for the Emperour, he can now no more claim any one particular place, than he can engross the whole shew. Your subjects therefore have now as good a prospect, as your self; nay they feed their eyes on you, as well as on the sports: For you are not pent up in a box or litter, but sit open and unconfin'd among the rest of the spectatours, the rest of the people, the people, for whose reception you have added five thousand benches: For you knew their greater numbers would now take up more room, being advanc'd by the encouragement of your Largesses, and by the same hopes of your bounty still invited to encrease their families, to multiply their offspring.

52. If any former Prince had been thus generous, his head should have been encircled with rays of divinity, his shrine of Gold or Ivory had crouded in among the Gods, his Altars should have been gaily deck'd, his Victims fat and costly. Whereas you come not into our Temples to receive, but pay devotion: The highest honour your modest Statues claim is to wait at the outer porch and entrance, and there to stand (as it were) Centry for the Gods. Hence are the Deities more profoundly ador'd by men, when they see that an Emperour, though never so Majestick, will not presume to encroach Heaven, or to intrude among the number of Gods. Of your Statues therefore we see but one or two, and those of mean brass, plac'd at the outside of the Capitol; whereas but a little while since, every passage, every ascent, every corner of the Temple was deck'd or rather defil'd with cast gold and silver, when the shrines of the Gods were debauch'd with the intermixed Statues of an incestuous Prince. However your few brazen ones stand inviolate, and will to remain as long as the Temple it self endures

endures, while theirs of gold and such like pretious materials are, all the legions of them, rudely batter'd down, and made a sacrifice to publick joy. It was a sport and pastime to humble those exalted heads, to make them prostrate and kiss the ground, to maul them with hammers, to hew them with hatchets, as if at every stroak bloud and pain had been to follow. None was so moderate in the venting of his raptures, none so sober in his overflowing joys, but that he thought it a luscious piece of revenge to see their mangled limbs, their dissever'd joynts, and finally their grim and ghastly images devested of all their borrow'd Majesty, and thrown into the flames to be melted down into better use and service. With the like piety, *Cesar*, you will not permit us to make any return of thanks for our obligations to your sacred *Genius*, but order us to direct the Address onely to the high and mighty *Jove*: What we owe to you, we must pay to him, though to him no otherwise due, than as you, the dispenser of all other gifts, were your self indeed a gift of his. Whereas formerly numerous herds of sacrifice were drove in such shoals to the Capitol,

that

* *Domitian.*

that the common roads were two narrow for their passage, and they were forc'd to hurry them through bye-lanes and allies to reach the place allotted for their slaughter, where the thirsty Altars of our * Imperial Lord God were bedew'd with as much blood of Beasts, as he had shed of Men.

53. Whatever (my Lords) I have or shall deliver in reflexions upon former Princes, it is done with this honest intent to shew how much our Prince has improv'd the Morals, and better'd the condition of preceding times: And indeed praises are never well drawn, or set off to due advantage, except when shadow'd by comparisons. Nay it is one part of the duty of subjects toward the best of Emperours to exclaim against those, who were most unlike him. For indeed they never enough revere good Princes, who do not detest the evil. Besides, there is no greater instance of our Emperour's high deserts, than that under his Reign it is safe and allowable to inveigh against so many of his Predecessours, as were unjust and Tyrannical. We cannot yet forget, nor without abhorrence

yence remember, the late cruelty on
 Nero's * Freeman. Can we think he* *Epaphrodi-*
 would have suffer'd his actions to have *tus* an Affic-
 been censur'd, who so zealously reveng'd *tent* in the
 his death? He did wisely indeed to *dispatch* of
 stifle all reports; for he might well *Nero, and on*
 have interpreted that to have been *that account*
 spoke of himself, which was spoke of *Executed by*
 one so nearly like him. Therefore this *Domitian,*
 one vertue (*Cæsar*) I must needs com- *though were*
 pare, nay prefer, to all your other, that *this the a-*
 we have now liberty to vindicate our *lone reason,*
 selves of oppressive Emperours for past *and nothing*
 grievances, and by their example to *superadded*
 admonish future Princes, that there is *of cruelty or*
 no place, no time, wherein the ashes *malice, his*
 of bloody Tyrants shall not be rak'd *death may*
 out, and expos'd for the trampling sub- *well be justi-*
 ject of curses and reproach. Therefore *fied.*
 (my Lords) since we can as freely utter
 our complaints, as we do our joys, let
 us as well murmur at what we once
 suffer'd, as triumph at what we now
 enjoy: We may doe both indifferently
 under a good Prince. Let this be the
 Subject of our whispers, and of our
 louder acclamations, of our private
 discourse, and more publick harangues:
 Remembring that the present Prince is
 then best commended, when his ill de-
 serving

serving Predecessours are most lash'd and chastis'd. And on the contrary whenever the times are cautious of smartly animadverting upon wicked Princes, it is a shrewd sign that the present is as bad, as were the former.

54. What greater stretches, what farther improvement of flattery could have been then made, when the doubling Encomiums of Emperours were the main subject of Plays, Banquets, Drolls, Dances, and were apishly canted forth with all the buffoonery of ridiculous voice, garb, and gesture? Nay it was yet a greater scandal, that they were tickled with praises in the Senate, as well as on the Stage, by the graver Consul, as well as by the jilting Actour. But far from such profanation have you remov'd these mock vanities. Therefore not thick, and luscious bombast, but serious Remarques, and the eternal memoirs of impartial history will deliver down your name, and embalm your memory. While the more silent the Scenes and Stages are, the more shall the Theatres themselves resound your glory: That glory which your coldness to accept does the more enflame: For

of

of those honours, which we offer, and would almost obtrude upon you, some you admit of with a great deal of reluctance, and others you entirely refuse. Formerly there was nothing so vulgar, nothing so trivial debated in Senate, but that all, who were ask'd their Vote, must have usher'd in their answers with a glossy harangue upon the Prince. The business of the great Counsel was perhaps nothing more weighty than to advise about encreasing the number of gladiatours or incorporating some company of Mechanicks, or such like petty trifles: And yet as if the bounds of the Empire were enlarg'd, and some mighty exploit perform'd, we built in honour of the Emperour prodigious triumphal Arches that would overtop the very Temples, and we some time dedicated so many months, two or three perhaps at once, to be new nam'd from, the Titles of the Prince: While all this they not onely by connivence admitted, but seem'd to challenge them as their right and desert. But now which of us diverts from the cause in agitation, and falls to an unseasonable descant upon the Prince? It is a resolute modesty in you not to hearken
to

to flatteries, and since they are so customary to bestow on Princes, it is a boldness in us to dare the forbearance of them. We now meet in Senate not to fawn and be basely fulsome in our compliments, but to be intent on the concerns propos'd, and faithfully dispatch the business of the consult. To your candour and integrity we owe, that you never dissemble, but we can trust and believe that you heartily approve those things, you allow, and as reasonably dislike whatever you condemn. We there begin, we there end our consultations, where under another Prince it was lawfull neither to begin nor end. Some of your Predecessours, it is true, were so modest in pretence, that they would not accept those honours, we decreed for them, but there was none so self-denying, as not to take some satisfaction in their being decreed. Whereas your dislike of the offer, as well as shame of acceptance, is so signal and unparallel'd a vertue, that it adds more to your glory, than all the most specious Titles. While your name becomes hereby transmitted to future ages, not engrav'd on Marbles, and bulky Pillars, but treasur'd up in
the

the more lasting memorials of Books and Annals.

55. The report will reach down to the longest ages of the World, that there was once a Prince, who in the height of glories, the midst of triumphs, had usually none, or if any, those mean and sparing honours conferr'd on him. And indeed if we should designedly lay out for glittering trophies, for lofty titles, we must needs fall short of the more copious vein of former times: For dissimulation in this respect is far more ingenious than truth; slavery than freedom, fear than love. Beside, all invention being long since drawn dry by the strains and efforts of flattery, we can find but one fresh and unsullied, but one unpresidented, honour to bestow on you, and that is to dare to say nothing. Yet if our transports of Loyalty do sometime break silence, your modesty yields, and some part of our offers you graciously receive, to give proof that it is not out of pride or disdain you wave the highest honours, since you can sometime stoop to accept the lowest; and this (*Cæsar*) argues more of discretion, than if you refus'd all, for to refuse

Pliny's *Panegyrick*.

fufe all would favour of furly pride or
 ambition of being thought above them,
 but to comply with an acceptance of
 the fmalleft imports much of goodnefs,
 much of moderation. By which frugal
 temper you are both a friend to us, and
 a good husband to your own Exchequer,
 for you hereby limit the expences there-
 of not draining it in vain projects to be
 replenish'd by extortion from the inno-
 cent. Your Effigies therefore are of
 the fame cheap materials with thofe,
 which have been dedicated to private
 perfons, in gratitude for fome eminent
 meriting of the publick. Your Statues
 (though a *Cæfar*) are now, but of the
 fame vulgar metal with the *Bruti* and
Camilli: Nor indeed does the occafion
 of them much differ; for they expell'd
 Tyrants, and drove a victorious enemy
 from our walls; you have quell'd and
 for ever banish'd Tyranny it felf, and
 all the heavy effects of a flavifh yoke,
 and have fo fetled the Prince, that there
 is no room for the Tyrant. But when
 I reflect on your wifedom and judicious
 conduct, it feems no longer ftrange, that
 you fhould difown or moderate thefe
 brittle and fading titles; for you know
 wherein the firm and immortal glory
 of

of a Prince consists: You know what goes to the making up those honours, which no rage of flames, no teeth of time, no envy of Successours, can ever fully or eclipse. Arches and Statues, nay Altars and Temples, though never so magnificent, oblivion will soon shroud and interr, posterity will censure or forget. Whereas he, that can triumph over his own ambition, he who makes a conquest of his own will and passions, his fame shall still encrease with the rolling years, and his praises be rehearsed by those, who must needs be impartial, succeeding generations. Farther, there be no Monarchs, but that their memory, either good or bad, will be sure to pass down to future ages. A Prince therefore must not barely cover that fame, which is eternal; for that he cannot avoid, but he must provide for that, which is good, and commendable: And this is to be procur'd, not by Monuments and Statues, but by vertue and desert. For after all those other trifles, the shape and figure of a Prince can never be so lively represented in gold or other metal, as in the hearts of his subjects, those inward tables, where it is your happiness (Great Sir)

to be deeply engrav'd. Your Majestick air, your becoming aspect, being legibly imprinted in the tongues, eyes and very fouts of all your people.

56. I suppose your Lordships have observ'd, that I stand not to make choice of what heads I deliver, having resolv'd to praise the Prince, not his actions: For even the bad may doe those things, that are justly commendable, but the Actours themselves can never be prais'd, unless completely good. Therefore Dread Sovereign, there is no glory adorns you more, than that in the presentment of our thanks, we have nothing to conceal, nothing to omit. For what stain or blemish is there in your whole Reign, which any speaker need palliate or suppress? What minute, what moment, of time has been a barren Theme for praise, a fruitless camp of glory? All your designs so accurately modell'd, all your actions so illustrious, that he seems best to commend them, who does but faithfully recite them. Hence is it that my speech has already swell'd to this proportion, and yet I have dispatch'd but your first two years. How much have I already said of your moderation,
and

and yet how much have I yet more to say? As that of your undertaking a second Consulship, when thereto appointed by your Princely Father: And this you did merely in obedience to his commands; for when the Gods had transferr'd to your shoulders the Sovereign Power, and you were thereby come to a disposal of your self, as well as to the management of an Empire, you refus'd a third Consulship, though your happy acquitment in the two former so well accomplish'd you for another discharge of that office. It is great and generous to wave Authority, greater yet to wave that, which would be certainly attended with renown and glory. Which should I most admire, your Consulships executed, or your Consulship refus'd? Executed, not in a soft repose at *Rome*, not in the dull intrigues of peace, but among barbarous Nations, amidst the toils of War: As those Primitive Heros, who from Consuls commencing Generals, exchange'd their Gown for a Cloak, and so march'd to far distant Lands to discover, fight and conquer. It was honourable for our Empire, glorious for your self, that our Allies and Confederates saw you dispense justice in their own Countrey

and their own doors. The meen and presence of a Consul must needs have then commanded an awe and respect, when his Tribunal was erected in the open Camp, and his person guarded not onely with the rods and axes, but the more solemn attendance of Piles and Ensigns. The Grandeur of the Judge was enhanc'd by the diversity of Petitioners of all climes and languages, few being able to express themselves without the help of an Interpreter. It is noble to prescribe Laws to your subjects, how much more to your enemies? It looks big to hear Causes in the peacefull *Forum*, how much more Stately and terrible to place the Ivory chair on the wide Campagne, and there to distribute justice, where you so lately shew'd your valour. It might in peace be safe and hazardless to encamp upon the banks of the *Rhine* or *Danube*, but how bold, how Heroick is it to despise the fury of Barbarians, to check and repress their daring attempts, not more with the glittering of Arms, than with the awe of Gowns? Nor did our Legions reverence your picture onely drawn in their Shields and Ensigns, but had you in Person, and with joyfull acclamations to your own face

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proclaim'd you General, a name which others might deserve from the conquering, but you alone from the despising, of the enemy.

57. Thus did you merit in the Execution of your first and second Consulships, and this farther do you deserve for the adjournment of your third, that being newly advanc'd to the Empire, you thought you might be excus'd from any other encumbrance, and were far from the desire of additional honours: you refus'd therefore that office, when yet some of our Emperours have been so greedy of it, as to thrust themselves in after the putting by those, who were regularly Elect. Nay there was * one, * *Nero*, who toward the end of his Reign was so eager for the place that he turn'd out a Consul when his year was just expiring, and seiz'd the short remainder. This honourable office therefore which former Princes, both at the entrance and exit of their Reigns, have been so fond of, that when fairly supplied, they have encroach'd and wrested themselves into, this you, when vacant, pass by, and leave for the discharge of private subjects. Was it that you thought it in-

vidious to allow *Trajan* a third Consulship, or the Prince a first? As to your second, we know you were a General, when preferr'd to it, yet under the authority of a Royal Master; and therefore in this you can challenge to your self nothing of honour or example, save that of loyalty and obedience. In this City, which has seen the same men five or six times Consuls, not such onely, who in our declining liberty usurp'd the honour by force and violence, but those, who, when retir'd and absent, were elected without their ambition, without their knowledge: In this very City do you the Monarch of the World reject a third Consulship, as too great, too invidious. Can a mighty *Cæsar*, an Emperour, a Father of his Countrey be more moderate, than the *Papirii* or *Quintii*, who though not over ambitious to procure, were yet proud of, this honour, when conferr'd on them? But, you'll say perhaps, the occasions of the Commonwealth requir'd their repeated advancements: Well but were not you invited by as many urgent occasions of the Commonwealth, of the Senate, nay of the Consulship it self, which seem'd sensible that your accep-

acceptance of it would leave a lustre and glory to the place for ever?

58. I would not encourage you to follow his * example, who by a continued * *Domitian*. Consulship made a kind of prolong'd and undistinguish'd year: Yet whenever you undertake this charge, I can justly compare you with those best of your Predecessours, who have supplied it not to advance or interest themselves, but to serve and oblige the publick. There was in the Senate one, who had been thrice Consul, when you refus'd the third Consulship: An insufferable affront indeed our votes would have impos'd on your modesty, that you the Prince should be as many times Consul, as one of your subjects; this would have been too excessive a strain of bashfulness, had you even been but a private person. Before your ascent to the Empire, while the Son of a Consular and triumphant Father, had you been created Consul, you must have serv'd out the employ, nay it would have seem'd the reward of your merits, and futable to your noble birth: Whereas now though so much better qualified, and more deserving the honour, yet private persons are allow'd

Pliny's *Panegyrick*.

to open the year, and from their names to give a date and computation to the Calendar. And this indeed was an instance of our liberty restor'd, that not the Prince but a fellow-subject was our Consul. Thus when the last of Tyrants was expell'd, the year ran free and unshackled from arbitrary sway: Thus when we were redeem'd from slavery our Calendar commenc'd with the names of private men. Wretched ambition was it in those Emperours, who would continue their Consulship as long as their Reign: Though perhaps it was not ambition more than envy and ill nature to engross every year to themselves, and not to lay down their ornamental badge, the Purple Robes, till sullied, defac'd, and quite worn out. Which shall I most admire in you, your magnanimity, your modesty, or your bounty? It was magnanimity to abstain from an honour so much affected by others, it was modesty to wave the acceptance, and it was bounty to let others enjoy it.

59. But it is now time so far to oblige the Consulship as by a voluntary management of it to improve its credit
and

and reputation. For if you always stand out, it may have a sinister interpretation, and be well suspected that you think it too mean, and beneath your Grandeur. It is certain you refus'd it rather because you thought it above you, yet will none be induc'd to believe so, except you can be prevail'd on at last to comply. When you excuse your self from triumphal Arches, from Trophies, and from Statues, we may afford to pardon your modesty, because those indeed are bestow'd on your self without any appendage of benefit to others. But we now entreat on a publick account, that you would set a Precedent to future Princes, to renounce an unactive ease, to adjourn interrupting pleasures, to awake from the slumber of Court debauches, and for some small time at least fairly to put on that Purple; which their Predecessours have stole back to themselves after they had conferr'd it on others; let them regularly mount that Seat of justice, which they should guard from Usurpers, let them approve themselves in conduct, what they affect to be in title, nor any longer desire to be Consuls onely for the name and shadow of honour. You have discharg'd a second

cond Consulship I know, but the prudence of it was experienc'd not by *Rome*, not by us, but by your Armies, by your Provinces, by remote and foreign Nations. We have heard indeed that you fail'd in no one point of the office of a Consul; but, alas, we have onely heard so: It is reported indeed that you were most just, most gracious, most patient, yet is it all report: It is not fit we should always resign up our faith to a spreading fame and rumour; but let our own experience, our own eyes at last confirm the hearsay. How long shall we admire what was at a distance perform'd? Give us to make a nearer proof whether that second Consulship has rais'd you into conceitedness and pride. One intervening year may have great influence on the Morals of men, much more of Princes. It is commonly deliver'd, that the vertues are so connexed that he who has really one, must needs have all. Yet we desire to experience once more, whether a good Consul and a good Prince are one and the same thing: For besides the difficulty of managing two separate, and yet both Sovereign Powers, there is likewise some diversity in the powers themselves, since,

since with allowance to the character of each, that action might well become a Prince, which would be improper, perhaps absurd in a Consul.

60. I am sensible that the main reason you could object that next year for refusal of the Consulship, was because you could not fairly discharge it in your absence. But being now return'd to the City and restor'd to our eager wishes, what farther cause can be alledg'd, why you should not satisfy our importunities, and let us taste those blessings, we are so impatient for. It is beneath you to come into the Senate, unless you have Power to assemble it; to be present at their debates except you sit Judge of them: Or to hear them vote and canvass, unless you are to determine, and confirm their resolves. If you would have that tribunal of justice, the Consul's Chair, restor'd to its pristine Splendour and Majesty, grace it with your presence. If you would preserve inviolate a respect to the Magistrate, a vigour to the Laws, a restraint to Offenders, be you the sole dispenser of right and justice. As it would be very odd in you, if a private person, to be our Consul without being
a Sena-

Senatour, so it is altogether as unseemly
 to be our Prince without being a Consul.
 With these weighty reasons after long
 struggling was our Prince's modesty at
 last overcome: But how overcome?
 Not to debase himself to an equal level
 with private men, but to advance pri-
 vate men to an equal pitch with himself.
 He accepted the third Consulship, that
 he might countenance others being
 thrice Consuls. He knew their reluctan-
 cy, he knew their bashfulness, that they
 would not presume to be a third time
 Consuls, except as Collegues with one,
 who was so. This signal mark of honour
 has been but very seldom allow'd, and
 then not onely to Fellow-Generals, and
 partners of sweat and danger; but this
 have you conferr'd on persons of obscu-
 rer note, who have serv'd you indeed
 stoutly and loyally, yet as wrapt in the
 peacefull Gown, never as engag'd in the
 broils of War. Their faithfulness, their
 integrity you are willing to think your
 self oblig'd to recompence: Yet few
Princes care to own an obligation, or, if
they own it, can yet seldom affect the
person, who bestow'd it. Whereas you,
Cæsar, both confess the kindness and
 repay it. Therefore when you made
 that

that last pair a third time Consuls, you did it not so much to acquit your self a mighty Prince, as to approve your self a gratefull friend. Nay by the greatness of your bounty you seem to improve and augment the past services of your subjects: For they are apt to think that their own merits bear some proportion to your rewards, and so judge the one more considerable, because the other are so magnificent. What Prayers can I make for so generous a Donour, but that you may ever oblige, ever be oblig'd, and leave it doubtfull, whether it be more advantage to your subjects to have done kindneses to you, or to receive favours from you.

61. Methinks I view'd the Senate in its ancient Splendour, when I saw one thrice Consul sitting President, and first asking the suffrage of those, who were a third time design'd Consuls. How bright was their honour, how much more outshining was yours? It happens unavoidably that bodies vast and lofty, when evershadow'd by those that are more exalted, shrink in appearance, and seem the less for the others greatness: So the most Eminent of your subjects compar'd

compar'd with your Overtopping Grandeur are humbled into a loss of their wonted height, and the more nigh they would aspire to your elevation, the more visibly they slide from their own. Yet even those you could not rear to an equal pitch with your self, you have at least so far advanc'd, that they as much overlook others, as you do them. If in this your third Consulship you had made but one thrice Consul with your self, it had argued a great and communicative soul. *For as it is an argument of happiness to have as much power as will, so is it of goodness to have as much will as power.* He is to be commended, who merited the third Consulship; but he more, under whom it was merited. He is great and remarkable who received such a reward of deserts, but he much greater, that bestow'd it. But thinking it too scanty to have admitted a single person only to a share of this dignity, you made two several Collegues to your sacred self. So that beyond doubt this was the sole reason of your continuance in the office longer than the usual time, that you might have two Successive Partners, and bear your turn of Government with them both. Each
of

of these had discharg'd his second Consulship under your Royal Father, but how much less honourable that, than now under your more auspicious Reign? Their just resigned *fascēs* seem'd yet in their sight, their lately dismiss'd Lictors seem'd still to echo in their Ears, when they were reinstated in their chair, re-endow'd with Purple. So of old, when an Enemy was upon the assault, and our Republick alarm'd with the unexpected danger, they Elected such persons as the office had before experienc'd and consulted the security of the publick so much more than the honour of the elect, that they seem'd not to restore the men to their Consulships; but their Consulships to the men. Such is the efficacy of your goodness, that what before was the effect of necessity, is now the result of a free and unforc'd bounty. They had just put off their Purple Robes, they must on with them again; the Lictors were but now discharg'd, they must be again retain'd: Their friends were scarce got home from their visits to Congratulate and joy them, when streight they must return and repeat the Ceremony. Was this a goodness less than divine, was this but a humane power,

power, to make so quick a repetition of our joys, to revive our hopes when but just expir'd, to give no respite to our Congratulations, nor to suffer a longer interval of reassuming the Consulships, than the very instant time of Resignation? Thus may you ever doe, nor in such a course may your soul or your fortune ever faint or tire. May you give third Consulships to many, and when you have given them to many, may there yet remain many and many more, who shall as well deserve them.

62. In all favours that are impartially bestow'd as an encouraging reward to merit, the content and satisfaction is not greater to the present Receivers, than it is to all, who are, or may be, alike deservers of them. So in the disposal of these Consulships the joy was not confin'd to the particular members thus preferr'd, but was communicated to the whole Senate, who were as well pleas'd, as much oblig'd, as if the same honour had been conferr'd on every single man: For these they had the best opinion of, the greatest kindness for, these had they unanimously chose for Trustees of managing and retrench-

retrenching the publick expences : And their being so much countenanc'd by the Senate made them the more endear'd to *Cæsar*. We have had of late very frequent proofs that the judgment of the Senate was always oppos'd by that of the Prince : Nay there us'd to be nothing more fatal for the crushing and keeping back a rising man, than for the Prince to suspect that he was popular and a leading man in the Senate : He always hated our Favorites, and to be even, we as seldom relish'd his. But now Prince and Senate take no other measures for their love than eminent merit, and strive to oblige most the most deserving. We agree in our sentiments of men, we trust each others character of them, and what is an argument of our united judgments and affections, we both like, we both love, the same. Therefore, my Lords, dare to own our inclinations, and openly profess your friends. You need not dissemble your good opinion for fear it be a prejudice to your selves, nor conceal your dislike lest it prove an advantage to others. *Cæsar* allows or disapproves the same with the Senate. While you are present, or even when absent, he

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consults and advises with you: He made them a third time Consuls, whom your votes had so ordain'd, and he made them in the same order, wherein your wisdom did appoint. His generosity is either way to be admir'd, whether he love none so well, as those he knows we most respect, or though he may love some better, does at least prefer none before them. Rewards are propos'd to the aged, examples to the younger; all may own their acquaintance, and make their visits without secrecy or suspicion. Every one, who gives the highest respect, the freest welcome to the friends of the Senate, does with the same civility oblige the Prince, who accepts the honour done to good men as done to himself; and at the same time reputes it no glory to be greater than others, unless they also be great, who are to confess him greater. Go on, *Cæsar*, in these honest resolves, and rest assur'd we so are, as common fame reports us to be, from hence borrow your thoughts, from hence your estimate of us, and give no credit to those sly insinuations, that entrap not those they are whisper'd against, sooner than those, who listen to them. It is safer to believe
all

all than some: For particular persons may both impose, and be impos'd upon; but none has deceiv'd all, all can deceive none.

63. I return now to your Consulship, though indeed there be many things preceding, which relate to it, and ought by way of Introduction to be first insisted on. As namely that you appear'd at the assemblies for Election as a Candidate not onely of the Consulship, but of glory, immortality, and a fam'd example, which good Princes cannot but imitate, and even the bad must needs admire. The people of *Rome* beheld you in the solemn place of Election, where you patiently attend to all those Ceremonies, which on this occasion are us'd, and are content to be made a Consul with the same customary rites as one of us. Which of your Predecessours would ever condescend to doe this honour to the office, or to the people? Did not some buried up in sleep, and overcloy'd with a yesterdays debauch, lie snorting till the news was brought up to their bed sides? While others indeed set up and watch'd, but within the walls of their own Chambers, where

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they

they plotted and contriv'd the banishment of those very Consuls, who declar'd them their Successours. O vile ambition and degenerate from the true spirit of Majesty, to covet that honour you so much disdain, to disdain that honour, you so much covet! And when from your garden walks you could overlook the field of Election, yet to come no nearer to it, than if you were disjoyn'd by the broadest streams of the *Rhine* or *Danube*. Do you hate the bestowing of those votes, you are so impatient for? And content in your retirements to have the news of your Election brought, will you not at all appear in publick, nor allow to a free City so much as the liberty of dissembing their joy? Lastly, during the whole time of Election must you needs so sculk and cloister your self up, as if the design of their meeting was not an agreement to advance you to the Consulship, but a conspiracy to depose you from the Empire? Our Imperial Lords had this proud fancy, that they ceas'd to be Princes, whenever they stoop'd to doe any thing like ordinary Senatours. Yet many absented themselves not so much out of pride perhaps as fear, being
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conscious of their whordoms and incest, they durst not presume to pollute the auguries, nor with their unhallow'd feet to tread such sacred ground. They were not yet flush'd on to that height of impiety, as in that spacious camp to defy all discovery of their villanies, and stand the eyes of men, and the acuter Gods. On the contrary your innocence your devotion prompt you to be present, where the business of the State is dispatch'd, and the service of Religion perform'd. Other Princes have merited the Consulship before they receiv'd it, but you in the very act and manner of receiving.

64. All the trouble of Ceremony might have been spar'd, if you would have pleaded that exemption, you might have challeng'd as a Prince. And indeed it was so little expected, that the Assembly was just dissolving and going off, when to the wonder and surprize of us all, you came up to the Consuls Chair, and there offer'd to take the oath in that form, which was before unknown to Princes, except when they impos'd it on others. You see now how necessary it was you should not have

refus'd the Consulship, for we could never have imagin'd you would have done thus, had your refusal prevented the experience. I am amaz'd (my Lords) nor am I yet satisfied, whether I may credit my own eyes or ears, but am apt to question whether all be not a delusion, that I have heard and seen. An Emperour, a *Cæsar*, an *Augustus*, a *Pontifex Maximus*, stood up before the Consuls feet, the Consul sate while the Prince himself was standing, he sate steady and unmov'd, as if he had been accusom'd so to doe: And thus sitting he administred the oath, which the Prince devoutly took, and loudly repeated these words, wherein he devoted his life and family to the bitterest curse of divine vengeance, if he violated that faith, which he now solemnly gave. Your glory (*Cæsar*) is bright, and for ever uneclipst, whether succeeding Princes shall deviate from, or conform to, this great example. What tongue can declare, what words can expreis, that you would doe the same when a third time Consul, as when the first: The same, when a Prince, as when a private man: The same when an Emperour, as when the
 subject

subject of an Emperour ! I protest I know not which is more honourable, which more generous, that you did that for which you had no Precedent to follow, or that, in loudly rehearsing what another more softly dedicated, you follow'd the precedent of that person, who prompted and read the form of oath to you.

65. In the *Forum* likewise with the same submission you paid obedience to the Laws, those Laws (*Cæsar*) which were never hop'd, or indeed design'd to be obligations to Princes. But you would allow your self no greater exemption, than one of us, though for this we could willingly afford you the larger allowance. This is the first time I ever heard, the first, I ever knew a Prince not above his Laws, but the Laws above their Prince. *Cæsar* when Consul claims no higher privilege than others. He swears to an observance of the Laws in the hearing of the Gods, (and whom shall the Gods better hearken to than to an appealing *Cæsar* ?) He swears in the presence of those persons, who are to swear the same, and he is conscious that none ought more

religiously than himself to keep the oath, because none is more concern'd than himself in the ill consequence of breaking it. And therefore at the resignation of your office, you again swore that you had punctually perform'd your former oath. It was an act of resolution to make such a promise, and of integrity to observe it. To frequent so often the Courts of Justice, to repair to that Tribunal, which the pride of former Princes thought scorn to approach, here to receive, here to lay down your dignity, how worthy your great self, how different was it from their customs who, when the Consulship had been mounted (or rather trampled upon) by them for a few days, grew weary and disclaim'd it by Edict? The same course they took for the convention of the Senate, the summons of Election, and the taking of the oath, that the ordering of these latter might be answerable to the former, and they onely known to have been Consuls, because theirs, and no other, names began the Calendar.

66. I have not (my Lords) pass'd over the consulship of our Prince, but onely for some time deferr'd it, that I might

might bring into one place all that concern'd his oath. For we must not, as on a dry and barren subject, spin and vamp out the same topick of praise, nor be guilty of a dull tautology in the mention of one thing twice. How glorious was the dawn of that morning wherein your third Consulship commenc'd? When entering the Senate you address'd your self now jointly, then severally, encouraging all to reassume their sinking liberty, to take their respective shares in bearing up the drooping Empire, to awake and be more intent on the publick good. All before you might perhaps give the same formal advice, but none before you was ever believ'd to be in earnest. There was yet floating in our eyes the shipwrecks of many noble Senatours, who when wheedled into a prospect of the greatest calm, were dash'd and sunk by an unexpected storm. For the smoothest Seas were not more treacherous, than the smiles of those Princes, who had so much of subtilty, so much of trepan, that it was more safe to have them profestly angry, than pretendedly well pleas'd. But wherever you invite, secure and courageous we follow and attend. You bid us use
our

our freedom, we accept the offer ; you command us to speak our thoughts, we doe so : And our never having so done before was not a cold indifference, nor dull heaviness of temper, no it was a terrour, a fear, a slavish caution, a prudential policy taught by dangers, that made us sit unconcern'd, and turn our eyes, ears and hearts from all regard to the gasping Republick. Whereas now supported by your hand, and relying on your gracious leave, we release our lips so long shackled up in slavery, we unloose our tongues so long bridled in with dread of mischiefs and dangers. You would have us be sincerely as you profess and advise ; your encouragements would neither dissemble nor betray : You have no reserves, nothing of flyness, nothing of treachery to gull the credulous, and at last to ensnare the contriver himself ; for fraud was always repay'd in its own coin, and scarce was there ever any Prince deceiv'd, but he who had first deceiv'd others.

67. And that this was the genuine sense of our Princes instructions to us might be collected not more from his words, than from his manner of delivery.

very. How tuneable and well poiz'd was the cadence of every period? How unaffected was the truth of every sentence! What an energy in his very accent! What an earnestness in his looks! What a confirmation in his eyes, habit, gesture, and the air of his whole body! He will therefore always be mindfull of what he encourag'd us to, and will be ready to acknowledge, that whenever we make use of that freedom he gave, we therein pay our allegiance, and observe but his commands. Nor will he censure us for wavering or unsteady, if we exert that licence the present times allow, though he remembers we so lately did otherwise through fear and compulsion. We us'd to pray for the security of the Empire, the safety of the people, nay for the preservation of the Emperours, and for their sake, of the Empire. But now see how boldly we have alter'd the tenour of our prayers! In those petitions, which relate to a blessing on the Prince, we interpose this clause or condition, *If he Govern well and for the benefit of all*. These are prayers that deserve to be offer'd, deserve to be answer'd. The Republick (*Cæsar*) by your own exprefs order has
made

made a covenant with the Gods, that they shall keep you in peace and safety, while you keep your subjects so, and when otherwise, they shall withdraw their providence, recall their protection, and let you sink under a load of curses and imprecations. Other Princes wish'd and endeavour'd to survive the Republick; but you neither relish nor enjoy your own health, except attended with the common safety. You suffer no prayers to be made for you, except the contents of them imply an advantage to those that make them. And solemnly every year you appeal to the Gods, desiring them to pass sentence, and depose you, if you have ceas'd to be otherwise, than when they first preferr'd you. Thus with a spotless and unaccusing conscience you article with the Divine Beings to give you such protection onely, which you merit, knowing that they can best judge of your deserts. Do you think (my Lords) he does not oft recollect and meditate upon these his own words, *I have deliver'd a Sword into the hands of the Captain of my Guards, with a command he should draw it against me, if I act contrary to that duty, I owe the publick; nor do I depre-*

deprecate the anger of the Gods, or so much as wish for their connivence, if I incense their justice, or willingly provoke their vengeance: Nay I am heartily content my subjects, if by me oppress'd, should make me no vows of allegiance, or when made, if by me injur'd, let them be absolv'd from the obligation of them.

68. It is therefore (*Cæsar*) by the Gods express consent that you are shelter'd from all mischiefs, and securely guarded with health and peace. For when you petition the Gods should protect you no longer, than you Govern well, you are sure you Govern well, because they yet protect you. Hence we pass the day in mirth and profoundest quiet, which distracted other Princes with perpetual alarms of doubt and suspicion: While now rack'd with jealousies, then tortur'd in suspense, still fearing we should not long endure the galling yoke, they expected every minute to hear of mutinies and revolts; and if any wind or weather had detain'd those messengers that were in their road from distant Provinces, they dreaded what their conscience had assur'd

assur'd them they deserv'd, and immediately concluded a Rebellion was begun. Nor did they suspect onely some few designing men, but were constrain'd to be jealous of all alike : For when by an evil Prince every one of more worth than himself is fear'd as an encroaching Successour, there being none, but worthier, there can be likewise none, but such who are an object of his fear. But your security is fix'd and stable, no delay of Couriers, no detainment of Paquets, can suspend or interrupt it. You know all are bound by oath to obey you, because you have bound your self by oath to defend them. Nay there is none, but what is conscious that to pay his duty is to purchase his advantage. We love you indeed for your deserts, yet after all we love you not more for your sake, than for our own. For really there is a selfishness in our subjection, nor is there any one day wherein our prayers for your long life are not grounded upon interest, as much as upon Religion, or Loyalty. And indeed those Princes are a scandal to their dignity, who have any other ends of Government, than the welfare of that community they are set over. It is
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observable that no Princes pump and pry into the secret thoughts of their subjects, but onely those, who are not belov'd. Whereas would the good be as searching, and attentive in this respect as the bad, would you, *Cæsar*, be as curious and inquisitive in this regard as your Predecessours, what joy, what comfort, what feeding satisfaction might you find in the recesses of every heart? What fine discourses of you might you hear among the Women and Children, even in places unfit for dissimulation or complement, their Kitchings and Chimney corners? You would soon confess that they are more lavish of their good words in private, than they justly suppose your modesty would allow them in publick. For though love and hatred be extremely distant, yet herein they conspire, that we express our love to good Princes most freely in those retirements, where we most securely vented our hatred of bad ones.

69. Yet had you the open experience of our judgment and affections, as much as in your presence was possible to express, on that day wherein you so far cherish'd the hopes, and allaid the disappoint-

appointments of the respective Candidates, that you let no ones joy give occasion of grief to another. Those, who were elect, return'd in triumph, and those that miss'd came off with hopes, and a prospect of better success in their next attempts; so that many were to be Congratulated, yet none needed pity or comfort. You advis'd our young Gentlemen to seek out for preferment by a dependence on the favour of the Senate, learning them to hope for honours from the Prince by engaging the interest of his great Council. Wherein if any wanted a Precedent, you propos'd your self to his imitation: A hard example, *Cæsar*, that which none of the Candidates, nor of future Princes neither, shall be ever able to follow! For what Candidate is more observant of the Senate for one day, than you for your whole life, and more especially at that very time, when you presided and gave judgment of the Candidates? Has any other motive but your respect to the Senate induc'd you to offer preferments to our Gentry as a reward of their deserts, nay to confer them before they were fully deserv'd? So that Nobility is no longer eclips'd,
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but illustrated by the Prince. The descendants from ancient families, the undegenerate issue of freeborn Ancestours *Cæsar* does neither fear nor make afraid, but exalts them to early honours proportion'd to the dignity of that race, they sprang from. If there be any branch, any remainders, of an ancient stock, he prunes and cultivates them to flourish, and grow up for the service of the Commonwealth. Great and good old names are retriev'd from that oblivion, they lay buried in, and reinvested with honour and credit by that goodness of *Cæsar*, which extends to the raising of new families, and to the preserving of old ones.

70. One of the Candidates had been Questor of a Province, wherein one of the largest Cities had computed their revenues, and settled the receipt of them in an easie method; the whole contrivance being manag'd by his care and conduct. Of this you thought fit to acquaint the Senate, and to move that the merits of it might be considered. For under such a Prince, whose vertues exceed the greatness of his birth, why should they be in a worse condition,

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whose actions may ennoble their posterity, than those, whose Ancestours have ennobled them? O generous and worthy soul! May you ever thus encourage our Magistrates, and incite them to be qualified for their charge, not so much by punishments inflicted on the bad, as by rewards bestow'd on the good. Our youth by your influence is inflam'd, and takes a hot pursuit of those industrious courses, which it sees are authoriz'd by your approbation. Nor can any be otherwise inclin'd, that knows there is nothing done abroad, but what you have a perfect account, an exact information, of. It is of much use and advantage (*Cæsar*) for the Governours of Provinces to be assur'd, there is laid up for their prudence and integrity, the greatest reward, the countenance and favour of their Prince. Acute and vigorous dispositions, if not quite starv'd, have at least been extremely dash'd and disheartned by these uneasie, yet reasonable thoughts, *what motives have we to vertue or honesty? If we doe never so well, our Prince shall have no information of it, or, if he have, will take no notice, no farther regard.* This negligence or untowardness of Princes
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by granting impunity to the evil, and proposing no encouragements to the good, deter'd not those from vice, nor incited these to ambition. But now if any happily acquit himself in the Government of his Province, he is sure to be adorn'd with such dignity, which shall seem acquir'd by his vertues. The peevish enclosures are remov'd, and to all is laid open an unbounded field to honour and glory, wherein all may attain their laudable designs, and when attain'd may safely thank themselves, and repute them the effect of their own industry. You have likewise for the future redeem'd our Provinces from the fear of oppression, and the necessity of continual accusations. For if those, to whom the Provinces have paid their thanks and approbation, be hereupon countenanc'd and preferr'd by the Prince, this will have so good influence on the regulating of others, that there will be no need of complaints for the future. The Candidates will soon be sensible that nothing will so much promote their interest in the pursuit of a new office, as their industrious behaviour in a former. The good discharge of one employ is the easie procurement of another,

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ther, and past honours bring on future. I would not have the Governour of a Province for a testimonial of his integrity produce the hands of his favourites, or the shuffling Affidavits of his creatures and dependants, but the decrees of Colonies, the judgment of Corporations: That so Cities, Countries and Nations may have some influence on our Elections, and have their suffrages in some measure occur and intermix with ours. And thus the most effectual way of petitioning for a Candidate will be an Address of thanks to him from that Province, which he has lately oblig'd by his good Government of it.

71. What a comfort, what a pleasing joy was it, for the Senate to see that at your putting up, or nomination of every Candidate, you gave him a courteous salute stepping down from your Royal Seat, as if you already meant to Congratulate his Success! Shall I more admire your civility, or condemn the stiffness of those, who have render'd this favour the greater by making it so rare and unaccustom'd? While riveted and fast nail'd as it were to their Chairs of State, they would but just hold forth
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their hands, and this too so flow and sparingly, as if a touch of that were a never to be deserved favour. Your good nature therefore presented us with an unusual sight, a Prince and a Candidate standing on even ground, and the fountain of honour not higher than those lesser streams, which flow'd from it. This condescension of yours was by the whole Senate applauded with these pathetick acclamations, *So much the more great, so much the more August.* And he indeed, who is already Supreme, has this onely method for a farther advance, to stoop and submit without being jealous it will abate from his height. For there is nothing less impairs the just Grandeur of a Prince, than a meek humility. Beside your civilities seem'd not more taking in themselves, than in your happy art of expressing them. Your eyes, your voice, your gesture were wholly employ'd to grace and set off your delivery, and yet as if you were not hereby at all diverted, you omitted no one circumstance of any other occasional complaisance. When the names of the Elect were to be approv'd, you were one of the approvers, while from the mouth of a

Prince came the suffrage of a Senatour. And we, who were formerly proud if the Prince would accept of our testimony, are now oblig'd with his. But while you, *Cæsar*, (the Oracle of worth) pronounc'd the men to be deserving, you made them to be, what you so adjudg'd them. Nor did you approve onely of their merits, but of the opinions of the Senate, who were as glad to have their judgment confirm'd by yours, as the others could be to have their vertues ratified by your commendation.

72. While you pray'd that our Elections might have a happy event to us, to the Republick, and but lastly to your self: Ought not the order of this form to be inverted, and by an easie transposal of the words should we not implore the Gods, that all you doe, or shall doe, may be for ever prosperous, first to you, then to us, and the Republick: Or (to contract our devotion) to you alone, for in you is wrapt up the happiness both of us and the Republick? There was a time (and that time too long) when the interests of Prince and People were divided, and the advantage
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of the one was a prejudice to the other. But now we share with you in the same fortune, our good luck or disasters run parallel with yours, nor can we be any more happy without you, than you by your own confession could be without us. And had you thought that your safety was independent from ours, you would not have clos'd up your Prayers with this petition, *That the Gods would so answer your requests, as you continued to merit our affections.* So sacred in your esteem is the love of your subjects, that you profess first to desire theirs, and not till afterward that of the Gods: Nay and are willing to be indulg'd by the Gods, onely on condition you are first endear'd to us. And really the unfortunate end of many Princes gives reason to believe, that those are seldom regarded by the Gods, who are not belov'd by men. It was hard to Commemorate these Prayers with a futable return of praise, yet we attempted and did our utmost toward it. What ardour of love, what sparkling joy, what flames of passion did we express in our rapturous acclamations! It was the resounding echo, *Cæsar*, not of our affections, but of your vertues, of

your deserts, which no flattery could ever invent, no terrour could ever extort. Whom have we so fear'd thus to dissemble, whom have we so lov'd thus to pretend? You have had experience of the necessity impos'd by slavery; when did you ever hear, or when your self declare any such hearty professions, as to be compar'd with these? Fear indeed oft whets the invention, yet after all betrays an unwilling mind. Wit squeez'd out by compulsion is of a far different strain from that which flows voluntary and unforc'd. The chearfull and the discontented have a style, at least a tone, peculiar to the humours they are of, and neither can possibly counterfeit without discovery. The miserable, have one dialect, the happy another, nay though the contents of their speech be the same, the circumstances of each are distinguishable from their voice and delivery.

73. You your self were a witness of our universal joy. We were so taken up with transport, that we had no leisure to mind our habit, no desire to be curious of our outward garb. Our houses echo'd with peals of shouts, nor could
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thickest walls exclude the piercing noise. To spread the taking news, every man was upon the wing, and flew from his own home, though in such a sort of ecstasie, that he was scarce sensible he did so. We did many things by choice, and many too by instinct, nay some by compulsion; for even joy in excess has a tyrannick power. Nor could your modesty impose any bounds to our exultation; but the more you stifled our zeal, the more it flam'd: Yet not out of stubbornness, but necessity: For as it was in your power to give occasion to our joy, so it is beyond our own to set measures to it. You your self approv'd the sincerity of our joys by sealing them with your own tears. We saw your dropping eyes, we saw your blushing looks, and espied as much of bloud in your face, as there was of modesty in your heart. While this enflam'd our zeal to pray, that you might always have the same cause to weep, the same motives to be out of countenance. To these benches (supposing they can answer) we'll put the question, whether ever they beheld the tears of a Prince? No, but a Senate in tears they have often seen. You have brought an in-
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convenience on future Princes, and laid a burthen on the posterity of your subjects: For the people will expect their Princes should deserve the like acclamations, and Princes will take offence, if they do not hear them.

74. I can say nothing more proper, nothing more concise, than what was by the whole Senate so oft repeated, *O happy you!* Which we said not in respect to the plenty of your fortune, but to the largeness of your soul. And indeed it is no small part of happiness to be thought by others worthy of it. On that day, among many other passages, which with prudence and gravity were deliver'd, this more especially deserves remark, *Believe us, nay search and believe your self.* This we speak with a mighty confidence in our selves, but a greater in you. One may haply beguile another, but none can easily delude himself: Let him but rip open his own thoughts, and ask his conscience, what he deserves, and he shall meet with neither flattery, nor concealment. This very method gains us credit with a good Prince, which made us but suspected by the bad: For they were
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so conscious of their failures, that whatever professions we made of Loyalty, they could never be affected with them, nor believe they were hearty, and sincere. Again, we pray'd *the Gods might so love you, as you lov'd us*. Who would be so prophane, if he were not assur'd that your kindness to the people is so great, that the favour of Heaven to you can ne'er exceed it? Farther we desir'd the God's, *They would love us, as you did*. Had we not therefore reason to bless our selves with this exclamation, *O happy we!* For who indeed can on this side humanity be more happy than we, who have no need to pray that the Prince may love us, but that the Gods would doe it so well as he does? Hence does this devoutly dispos'd City, which always paid a just deference to piety and religion, think that nothing can more advance her exalted bliss and welfare, than that the Originals would take pattern of their image, and the Gods be pleas'd to imitate *Cæsar*.

75. But why should I endeavour to enumerate all particulars? As if my speech could either contain, or my memory recollect, what you, my Lords,
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to rescue from all oblivion, have been pleas'd to insert in our publick records, and preserve in more lasting inscriptions on brass. To be recommended to posterity in these monumental memoires was a favour formerly allow'd onely to the Orations of Princes, while our harangues were buried under that roof, where they were deliver'd: Nor indeed did they deserve to survive, they being such, as neither Prince nor Senate could justly glory in. But these now of ours are so well regulated, that to expose them to the open World, and deliver them down to future ages, will be agreeable both to the honour and interest of the Republick. First, that the whole Universe may be witness of our Loyalty; then, that it may appear we presume to commend the good, and, when occasion serves shall as freely dare to reprove the bad, and that not onely in their graves, but while life and reign do yet continue: Lastly, that we may by experiment evince, we would formerly have been as gratefull, but that we were thus unfortunate, as never before to have the same subject and opportunity of so approving our selves. But with what earnestness, what importunities

tunities were we forc'd to solícite you, before you would comply to let our affections, and your deserts be publish'd? Though the transmitting them over to future ages would have this notable convenience, that Princes might hence learn how to distinguish between harangues unfeign'd and counterfeit, and be oblig'd to you for the discovery. They may spare the trouble of seeking out new roads to a good reputation, they need onely not deviate from that, you have put them in: They need not study the cure of flattery, but take care onely to prevent a relapse: They'll know what they ought to doe, and will know as well what they must expect to hear. Beside those prayers, wherein the whole Senate has joyn'd with me, what shall I pray more for the Senate it self, than that (your blessings, *Cæsar*, implying her happiness) may the same joy always, overflow in your heart, which in tears was strain'd through your eyes? May you love that day, and yet be the occasion of one more joyfull, may you deserve more and still hear more: For in our duty of thanks and praise we can onely repeat the same words, unless you supply us with new matter successively to proceed upon.

76. How

76. How honourable, how *Roman*-like was it for the Senate, complying with your exemplary patience, to sit three days without intermission or adjournment, while you behav'd your self not as a Prince, but as a Consul? Every one started what questions, he pleas'd; Any one might dissent from another's judgment, or retract his own, and freely advise whatever he thought would conduce most to the interest of the publick. All were in their turns consulted, the votes of all were cast up, and not the first, but the best resolves were sure to prevail. Whereas heretofore who durst speak, who dar'd so much as whisper, but those onely, who were first ask'd their opinion? The rest dissatisfy'd within themselves, and swelling their undigested murmures, were forc'd to stifle their dislike, and with a relenting heart and discompos'd body let their silence pass for a consent. One alone by the dictate of the Prince propos'd what all the rest were oblig'd to comply with: Though they all and especially the first proposer privately disallow'd and condemn'd it: And nothing sure can be more displeasing than
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what's thus extorted against the will of the major part, and yet pretended to be by the consent of all. Some Emperour perhaps out of respect to the honourable assembly might curb and restrain himself within the Senate house, but no sooner out, than he reassum'd the character of a Prince, and with contempt disclaim'd his office of a Consul. But our Prince was so a Consul, as if he had no other title, and thought nothing below himself, that was not below the dignity of that place. He appear'd in publick without any thing of troublesome pomp, without a burthen some train: He stop'd onely to consult the Augurs, and take instructions from the Gods. None was disturb'd, none was rudely thrust aside, there was so much freedom for the Passengers, so much civility in the Lictors, that a croud of strangers would oft stop the Prince and Consul. In a word, his procession was every way so modest and inoffensive, that we seem'd to have a primitive Consul reviv'd under the disguise of an Emperour.

77. He went often to the *Forum*, and as frequently to the publick meetings for Election, where he sat President as Consul,

Pliny's *Panegyrick*.

ful, and took as much pleasure in declaring of the Elect, as he had before done in nomination of the Candidates. Those Candidates, who stood before his Curule Chair, as he himself had so lately done before the Consul's, and there took the same oath which not long before had been taken by the Prince, who knew the Ceremony of it to be so solemn, and the obligation so strong and effectual, that he would bind others with it as firmly, as he had freely engag'd himself. The remainder of the day he spent in his Courts of Justice: And there what a devout esteem of equity and conscience? What a respect and reverence of the Laws! If any address'd themselves to him as a Prince, he corrected their mistake, by meekly answering he sat there as a Consul. The rights of other Magistrates, their privileges or authority were not by him encroach'd nor impair'd, but often advanc'd. For he would remit many points from his own cognisance to be determin'd by the Pretors, to whom he was pleas'd to give the title of Collegues, not because it sounded popular, but because he really so esteem'd them; accounting that place so honourable that
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he thought a Pretor not unworthy to be the Collegue of a Prince. Farther, he was so constant and unwearied in his attendance on the Bench, that he seem'd even fed with labour, and refresh'd with pains. Who of us could have endur'd the same toil? Who undergone the same drudgery? Who would not be either unwilling or unable to serve out so laborious an employ? Though indeed it is but fitting, he should excell all other Consuls, who has himself the power of creating Consuls: For otherwise his strength would be disproportion'd to his fortune, if he could bestow that office, which he could not manage. Nay when he makes Consuls, he instructs them in the duty of the place, and renders them sensible, that he understands the nature of what he gives, and expects, nay provides, that they should be as apprehensive of what it is they receive.

78. From hence does the Senate more justly desire, and even with importunities little less than command, that you would accept the fourth Consulship. This was not a motion started in flattery, but the offer of a serious intention,

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and let your compliance satisfie that you believe us to be in earnest in a matter wherein the Senate can never beg, nor ever be reliev'd with a greater favour. For as other common mortals, so even Princes (though they write themselves Gods on Earth) must shortly resign a frail and borrow'd life. It is therefore their duty to contrive and endeavour to serve the Republick, even beyond the Grave in bequeathing them such monuments of justice and moderation, which an able Consul has the best opportunities to erect. And since it is your intention to reduce and restore our liberty, what honour should you more affect, what title should you more often assume, than that of Consul, which was the first badge of your redemption from slavery? It has not less of Grandeur to be both Prince and Consul, than to be Prince alone. In your acceptance of this dignity you made some allowance to the modesty of your Collegues, your Collegues I may presume to term 'em, because you your self impos'd that name, and would have others call them by it: They would not have the confidence to appear themselves in a third Consulship, till they saw you labouring in a fourth:

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For it must needs have been too much for a subject, which a Prince should have thought enough. But you comply, *Cæsar*, with our importunate desires, and are as charitable to our prayers, as the Gods are attentive to yours.

79. Your third Consulship no doubt contented you, but it makes us the more dissatisfied ; your complete discharge of that does but whet us on to be more impatient for your being farther engag'd. We should have been more cold in our Address, if we had not already a proof of your deportment. You might have detain'd us from a past experience more tolerably, than you can disoblige us with a present repulse. How eagerly must we needs interrogate, Shall we see him again Consul whose abilities we are so well assur'd of ? Shall he hear and return the same wonted expressions of mutual content and joy ? Shall he again dispense as much satisfaction, as he receives ? Shall he manage that publick Jubilee, which his deserts alone occasion ? Shall he endeavour to restrain our affections, and yet, as formerly, not have power to doe it ? Such a conflict between the Loyalty of the

Senate, and the modesty of the Prince must needs be glorious to both, which ever gains the victory or defeat. There will be joys I presume as yet untasted: For none can be so shallow as not to imagine his vertues will advance with his honour, and the oftner he is employ'd, the better will he still improve. Any other, if he had not quite enslav'd himself to debauch and luxury, would at least have tempered his labours with ease and remission. But this, when he respites from the cares of his Consulship, applies himself to those of the Empire, and so divides his thoughts on the concernments of each, that his being a Prince does not interrupt his acquitment as a Consul, nor his being a Consul distract or impede his discharge as a Prince. We see him generous in indowing whole Provinces, and as free in relieving particular Garrisons. No difficulty in giving Audience, no delays of returning answers: All are easily admitted, all as quickly dismiss'd, nor are the Royal Gates any longer besieg'd with crouds of humble Petitioners, who must throng and tediously attend for entrance.

80. Through the whole course of your judicial proceedings how gentle is your severity, and yet how uncheap your mercy! You sit not to enrich your own Exchequer, nor take you any other methods for your final resolves, than the impartial administration of justice. Those, who stand to plead before you, are not so solicitous of their own fortunes, as of your estimation; nor are they so much concern'd for what you determine of their cause, as for what you conclude of their Morals. How much like a Prince, how much like a Consul is it to reconcile divided Cities, to compose a fluctuating people, to quell their tumultuous humours by reason more than power, to redress the injurious Decrees of other Judges, and by repeal to undoe whatever was unjustly done! In short, like the noblest of the Planets to have an eye over all places, an influence on all things, and like a God to appear and assist wherever invok'd! Such an almighty goodness is alone dispens'd by that great disposer of the Universe, when he pleases to look down on the humble Earth, and make the actions of us mortals a part of his

divine inspection: which is indeed a drudgery that you have now discharg'd him from; he may now confine his Providence within the extent of the heavens, since in you he has appointed a Vicegerent, who can suffice for the concerns of this inferiour World: A Vicegerent, who exactly performs the pleasure of his great Master, and makes every succeeding day contribute to our benefit, and his own glory.

81. Whenever you have dispatch'd the exigencies of publick affairs, you make your very diversions but an exchange of labour. For what other recreation do you accustom your self to, than toilsome ones of swift walking, of hard riding, of scouring the Parks and Forests, of rousing the timorous game from their Dens of refuge, of breaking through woods and thickets, and visiting the Deities of those abstruse abodes? This was of old the Education of our youth, this their employ, this their pleasure. In this method were our future Generals train'd up, to contend in speed with the nimblest beast, in valour with the most courageous, and in stratagem with the most crafty. It was one sort of military
exercise

exercise in peace to clear the Countrey from the irruptions of wild beasts, and to rescue the husbandman's long hopes from the damages of a ravenous waste and spoil. Nay this sport was affected by those Princes, who would not be at the pains to prosecute it, so they usurp'd that pleasure, they were too lazy, to attain, by having beasts in some contriv'd Enclosures let out, as if in open field dislodg'd, and then shot and wounded, as if by mighty art and wonderfull dexterity. But our Prince with a scorn of such poor thams spends more of sweat in pursuing than in killing of them, and takes as much pleasure in finding them out, as in running them down. If he chuse at other times to divert himself by water, he does not idly let his eyes float along with the streaming sails, but he manages an Oar, he sets hand to the Rudder, and contends with the stoutest Tarpolin to break a rising wave, to secure the tackle from a rustling wind, and so with art and strength to cut through the toughest of resisting floods.

82. How much different was the humour of that late * Emperour, who * *Domitian*.
dar'd not trust the smoothness of the

Alban lakes, or the shallow silence of the Port of *Baia*, that could not endure the least motion of an Oar, but trembled at every stroak they made! And therefore without disturbance of Sail or Oar, he was tow'd along by another Vessel, and so drawn like some sacrifice for religious expiation, which must be neither touch'd nor approach'd. A scandalous spectacle to see a *Roman* Emperour tug'd along by another boat, as if a Captive drag'd in triumph. Nor did more distant floods and foreign rivers scape this reproachfull sight: *Danube* and the *Rhine* were made acquainted with it, who rejoyc'd to be thus witnesses of our shame. It being no more a scandal to our Empire that this goodly project should be display'd on the *Roman* Coasts, on the *Roman* Seas, than presented on the banks of her enemy, that enemy, whose custome it is to slide along these waters when they are froze into Ice, and to wade, sail over, or swim cross them in all milder seasons of the year. But to return, I should not commend your strength of body, or agility of limbs, if they were not set off with a stronger and more active soul, which the indulgence of fortune could never effemi-

effeminate, nor the temptations of Royalty ever debauch into sloth and intemperance. So that whether the recreations of our Prince shall carry him to the Mountains, or call him to the Ocean, I shall ever much admire his body invigorated by exercise, and his joynts compact by labour. Those Heroes, whom the Goddesses accepted of for husbands, were not more honour'd by their divine Marriage, than by these nobler arts of Hunting and Navigation. Now when the sports and most divertive pastimes of our Prince are so severe, how much more painfull must those pleasures be, which he takes in more serious concerns! Those pleasures of the mind, wherein every one betrays his gravity, reservedness, discretion, and other such commendable qualities. Who so dissolute, as not to be seemingly eager and intent on whatever employs their expence of time? *Right down idleness exposes all our infirmities, which the being taken up with any sort of business might prudently conceal.* Have not many Princes squander'd away their spare hours in Gaming, Riot and Excess, while their remission from cares was only to be more intent on the worse drudge-

drudgeries of Vice and Debauchery :

83. Great fortunes are always attended with this inconvenience, that none of their actions lie hid, none undiscover'd. The condition of Princes promotes this unhappiness, and makes not onely their Palaces to be ransack'd, but even their bed chambers and very closets to be rifl'd and expos'd. But this, *Cæsar*, turns to your advantage ; for nothing can more illustrate your glory than to be throughly look'd into. Those exploits are admirable which you act abroad, nor are those performances a whit less famous which you exert within your own walls. It is honourable that you preserve your self from all infection of vice, it is more credit that you fortifie others against the like contagion. Nay, by how much harder it is to reform others than to amend our selves, so much the more commendable is it, that being your self the best, you have made the goodness of others to equal your own. Many otherwise of unsullied repute have miserably tainted their reputation by a Wife either too unadvisedly taken, or too tamely endur'd. So that a domestick infamy has blotted those, who had been
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too illustrious abroad, and they might have been the greatest of *Romans*, if they had not been the unhappiest of husbands. But your Royal Consort is your glory and your ornament: Who more chaste! Who more pious! Were a grave and reverend High Priest to make choice of a Wife, would he not chuse her or her equal, were it possible her equal could be found? Of all your Grandeur, how doth she claim a share in nothing but the content and comfort? How constantly does she love, how devoutly does she respect, not your power, but your Person? You are both but one soul united: Your State does nothing impair your familiar affections, and an exalted happiness has made no worse impressions on you both, than a sense and experience how well you can digest it. How modest is she in her Apparel! How frugal in her train! How discreet and decent in her Garb! The honour of this may perhaps redound to her Royal Husband, who sets the pattern, gives the instructions, and leaves to her the alone glory of a dutifull compliance. When she sees you march with so little of pomp, so little of tumult, does she not her self pass with the less noise, the less solemnity? When
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she finds you so accusom'd to walking, does she not imitate as far as the weakness of her Sex will permit? These courtes would become her, should you your self doe otherwise: But where you lead the way, where you are so exemplary, how ought she to conform as a Wife for your honour, and as a Woman for her own!

84. Your Royal Sister too, how doth she remember that she has you for her Brother? How does she copy after your integrity, your truth, your candour? So that if any compare her with your happy Consort, from the prudent deportment of them both, he will find reason to doubt, which is the best foundation for a vertuous life, to be well bred, which was the portion of the one; or to be nobly descended, which was the fortune of the other. Nothing is so apt to breed quarrels as emulation, especially in women, where it is oft begot by a nearness in alliance, fomented by equality, inflam'd by envy, till it end at last in the most inveterate spite and hatred. From hence it ought to be esteem'd the greater wonder, that two Ladies in the same Palace, of the same Quality,

Quality, should have no feuds, no contention. They bear with each other, they never dispute the right of precdence, and while both passionately love you best, they think themselves unconcern'd, which of them you shall please best to love. They have the same intentions, they take the same course of life : nay they are scarce distinguishable to be two different persons; for with one soul they imitate and closely follow your steps, and therefore they must needs have the same Morals, because both have exactly borrow'd yours. Hence a well manag'd moderation, and hence a security against all change of fortune; for those can never be in danger of falling, whose humility always keeps them down. The Senate offer'd them the Title of *August*, but to this they earnestly pleaded an excuse, either because you first refus'd the appellation of Father of your Countrey, or because they conceiv'd it more honour to be term'd your Wife, your Sister, than to be styl'd *August*. Though what motives soever induc'd them to a denial, they ever deserve to be, and shall ever be, so esteem'd, the more *August*, the more their modesty rejects that Title. For
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what can be more commendable in Woman, than to believe that true honour consists not in airy names, but in the solid judgment of the World, and so to raise themselves to dignifying epithets by the very act of refusing them?

85. That good old comfort of the Primitive World, Friendship, was outdated, and quite shuff'd off the Stage, to make room for flattery, complement, and, what's worse than avow'd hatred, a pretence of love. Especially in the Courts of Princes it was so unfashionable, that the very name was a word of reproach. For indeed what friendship could possibly be contracted between Lords on the one hand, and slaves on the other? This blessing, Sir, have you bestow'd. You have friends, because you are one: And indeed it is this way of bribing that can alone procure them. For love cannot like other duties be impos'd on subjects; there is no one passion more free, more voluntary, more impatient of the curb, or more resenting of ingratitude, if it meet not with a like return. A Prince may perhaps be unjustly hated, nay even hated by those whom he does not hate: But belov'd
he

he can never be, unless by those he loves. That you therefore love your subjects, is prov'd from your being belov'd by them: And what is the greatest honour, the whole glory of both must be confest your own, while being Superior to all, you stoop to be equal and familiar with the lowest, and from an Emperour humble your self into a friend, though indeed you are then most of an Emperour, when as a Friend you Reign in the hearts of men. Nor is your prudence less than your goodness herein concern'd; for since the fortune of Princes may in some exigencies stand in need of the friendship of many, it is their policy to provide themselves many friends. May a belief of this ever attend you, may you keep as constant to this virtue, as to all your other: And may you always rest assur'd that hatred or ill will in a Prince is one of the poorest mean spirited humours, that possibly he can be guilty of. To be belov'd is the sweetest of humane comforts, nor is it less satisfaction to a generous soul to love: Both which you are so blest with, that you love most passionately, and are yet more passionately belov'd; first, because for many to love one is easier,
than

than for one to love many, and then you have such a faculty at obliging, that whomever you entertain a kindness for, he must be very ungratefull, if he make not a more ample return.

* *Licinius*
Sura, Cap-
tain of the
Guards.

86. It is worthy our pains to relate what penance you impos'd on your self, that you might deny nothing to your friend. You parted with a most * Excellent man, one you lov'd and priz'd to the just value of his merits: You parted with him as it were grudgingly and against your will, as if you would by persuation, though not by force, have detain'd him. You made a trial by absence how much you should want him, and though to be separate was the most averse to your inclination, you yield because it was his request. An instance of good nature this beyond a precedent, that a Prince and his subject friend should have contrary desires, and yet the prince comply, the friend prevail. O generous selfdenial worthy an Eternal Record, to chuse a Captain of the Guards not out of those, who thrust themselves on the place, but out of them, who declin'd it: And then again when tir'd with noise and hurry, to restore

restore the same person to those retirements, he was call'd from: And when you your self lie under an uneasie pressure from the encumbrance of an Empire, not to envy another the enjoyment of quiet and repose. We are now made sensible (*Cæsar*) how much we are indebted for your own toilsome and laborious Station, since you granted this weary Petitioner a Writ of ease, as the greatest favour he could ask, or you bestow. What a trouble and discomposure were you in, when you brought him on his way? For you would attend him to the Sea side, and there at his going aboard embrace and take your last farewell. *Cæsar* here stands upon the envious shore, and wishes his parting friend a happy voyage, and (if he himself so please) a quick return. Nor does he leave him so, but looks as long as distance will allow, and then follows after with Prayers, Sighs and Tears. I shall say nothing of your presents and rewards for his past service. For what bounty can equall this single kindness of permission and discharge, wherein you have so well deserv'd of him, that he ought to condemn himself as too blunt, too positive, in resolving a departure,

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and doubtless he began to repent, and considered whether he should not tack about and return: Nay he had certainly done it, if he had not suppos'd it as much happiness to be Loyal in distant thought and wish, as in a nearer Society and converse. He gain'd much honour by the discharge of that preferment, and a much greater by the resignation of it; to which when you complied, you shew, that your service is no prison, nor shall any man be confin'd longer, than he himself please.

87. This was generous and agreeable to the character of a publick parent, to enforce nothing, but always to remember, that no office can be so considerable, but that the person endow'd with it may possibly prefer a disengag'd freedom. You are worthy (*Cæsar*) to promote such to dignities as whose modesty will soon after resign them: And when they make it their petition to be excus'd, may you, though with reluctance, oblige them. May you not think your self abandon'd by those, who seem fond to retire; and for a supply of able Ministers may you still find those you can invite from, as well as those you shall remand to, a
privacy

privacy and solitude. You therefore who are the Princes more especial favorites, whose friendship and familiarity he more designedly courts, improve that good opinion he is pleas'd to conceive of you, this ought to be your Province, this your duty. Neither envy nor be jealous that you are possibly less regarded than some others; for when by his more signal affecting of particular persons he has given proof that he can love intensely, he is to be excus'd if he love some in a more remiss degree. However be assur'd that in your Loyalty toward him, there can be no mean observ'd, since you are not to prescribe, but onely follow in his example the laws and measures of your love. This man would be caress'd when present, that esteem'd when absent, both shall have their will; none by residence shall grow cheap, none by distance shall be forgot. Every one in all circumstances preserves that respect he merits, and our Prince can sooner let his eyes loose the resemblance, than his heart forfeit the memory, of his absent friend.

88. Many Princes, who have been Lords of their subjects, have been yet slaves to their own servants: Their

Pliny's *Panegyrick*.

pleasure was a command, their advice a law, through their eyes pass'd all representations, to their ears came all petitions, and by their hands were dispens'd all places of preferment. Whereas you indeed are courteous and obliging to your servants, yet still keep them at so due a distance, that it seems a competent reward for their industry, if they be but by your judgment approv'd honest and faithfull. And indeed *nothing is more an argument of a weak Prince, than powerfull servants*. First therefore you retain none, but such, who have best deserv'd by their Loyalty to your sacred self, or first adherence to your Royal Father. And these, when admitted to your service, you so exquisitely frame and mould that they learn to take measures of their fortune not from your condition of Supremacy, but from their own of subjection: While we pay them the much greater respect, because their modesty does less demand it. Was it not therefore upon just motives that the Senate and people of *Rome* conferr'd on you the surname of *Best*? True, this Title has been before assum'd, but never till now deserv'd. For might the merits of any Prince have laid any tolerable claim thereto,

thereto, it had certainly been by publick consent assign'd, and not by a selfish ambition usurp'd. Had it been more proper to have stil'd you *Happy*? No, that had been a compliment to your fortune, not a Character of your vertues. Or had it been better to have entitled you *Great*? No, this had been an Epithet of envy, more than of glory. An Excellent Prince adopted you into his own name, and the Senate has superadded the name of *Best*, which is as justly your due, as that you derive from birth-right: It being no more significant nor distinguishing to call you *Trajan*, than to call you *Best*. Thus of old were the *Pisos* firnam'd frugal, the *Lælii*, wise, and the *Metelli* pious: Which several appellations are all compris'd in this one of yours; for he cannot properly be entitled *Best*, who excells not all others in every of their respective vertues. Deservedly therefore, after many other Titles, was this annext, as of all the greatest. It is much less to be Emperour, to be *Cæsar*, to be *Augustus*, than to be of all Emperours, of all *Cæsars*, of all *Augustus's* the *Best*. Hence is the Supreme Parent of the World ador'd first by the attribute of *Best*, and not

Pliny's *Panegyrick*.

till secondly by that of *Greatest*. The more divine your glory, who are equally both the *Best* by far, and by far the *Greatest*. You have gain'd a name that never can descend, or be transferr'd to another: In a good Prince it will seem borrow'd, and in a bad it must appear usurp'd. Nay should each of your Successours assume it, it would after all be esteem'd peculiarly yours. For as the rehearsal of *Augustus* reminds us of that person it was first conferr'd on, so a repetition of this name of *Best* shall always prompt posterity to reflect on you, and whenever after they are compell'd to flatter others with this Title, so oft shall they recollect, who first deserv'd it.

on 89. What joys, Divine *Nerva*, are you now crown'd with, that you see the event so well answer your hopes, that he proves to be the *Best* whom you elected under a prospect of his being so! What a comfort and contentment is it, that compar'd with this your Son you your self are infinitely excell'd! Nor indeed could any thing argue a soul more untainted with spite and envy, than that being your self so Excellent, you were not affraid of adopting one whose

whose brighter eminence should in some measure shadow and obscure your yielding lustre. And you, happy *Trajan*, his natural Father (who if not promoted to the honour of a God, are at least advanc'd to the dignity of a Heroe) what a pleasure must it needs reflect to see him who, during your stay on Earth, was but a common Souldier, at best but a Tribune, now since your remove so great a General, so great a Prince! You seem to engage in an amicable contention with his adoptive Father, whether were more glorious to have elected, or to have begot, so illustrious a Son. Both of you do indeed equally (that is infinitely) deserve of the Commonwealth, to which you are the occasion of so rich a blessing, who though he could bestow but the credit of a triumph on the one, and the glory of deifying on the other, yet are you both adorn'd by all his honours, no less effectually than if you your selves had merited them.

90. I know (my Lords) that as other *Romans*, so more especially the Consuls ought so to express their joys, as to seem more affected with the benefits conferr'd on the publick, than with any

interest resulting to themselves. For as it is more frequent, and indeed more just, to have ill Princes hated for common injuries, than for any private damage; so ought the good to be more respected and belov'd for their influence on the protection of mankind, than for any favours reach'd out to particular persons. But whereas it has been authoriz'd by custome that Consuls, after a presentment of the publick thanks, should in their own names return some acknowledgement of their private obligations; give me leave to discharge this part of my duty not with more respect to my self, than to *Cornutus Tertullus*, my worthy Collegue. For why should I not address my thanks for him, in whose advance and interest I my self am equally concern'd. Especially since our Severeign has made us joynt Partners in that honour, to which had he promoted but any one of us, our affections were so united, our friendship so inviolate, it had indifferently oblig'd us both. That tyrannick enemy of good men by the Sequestration and Murther of our best friends had made us alike sufferers, while we still dreaded that Thunder, which often fell so near us. The same belov'd

acquaintance which we had great comfort of while enjoy'd, the same did we the more lament, when snatch'd from us: And as we have now the like refreshments of hope and joy, so had we then always one and the same occasion of grief and fear. The Divine *Nerva* was pleas'd to confer this reward on our past sufferings, that he would advance us to be Prefects of the Treasury, however less deserving, for an instance of the happy change of times, wherein they were now honourably employ'd, who so lately wish'd for no more than a safe retreat.

91. We had not been full two years in this great and laborious office, when you Sir, (the best of Princes, the greatest of Commanders) offer'd us the Consulship, making that most eminent of honours the more acceptable by our not being impos'd a tedious waiting for it. So much do you differ from those Princes, who conceiv'd that a difficulty of obtaining set a value on their favours; and that therefore preferments were always the more welcome, if the persons at last oblig'd with them had been first dismiss'd with excuses, and baited with delays, which were no less than a seeming

ing repulse, so long, till their expectation was anger'd, and their hopes affronted. Our modesty forbids to recite what a Character you were pleas'd to give of us, how in our integrity and love to our Countrey you compar'd us with the best of Primitive Consuls: Whether deservedly or no we dare not determine; for as it would be a scurvy complement flatly to deny what you ventur'd to affirm, so it would be an unbecoming confidence to own or assume what your good nature pronounc'd, but our merit no-way requir'd. Though indeed you are worthy to create such Consuls, who may rise up to that Character, and make the praises no longer a kind Hyperbole. Pardon us, Dread Sir, if among all your favours, we esteem this the most grateful, that you have again made us Collegues. Our engag'd affections, our agreeable humours, our united interest could have been concern'd in no greater blessing. And indeed our natural dispositions are so turn'd alike, that our friendship is more owing to our temper, than to our vertues, and we are born of such a sympathising judgment that either of us can no sooner dissent from his Colleague, than from himself. They are
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not therefore slight and single joys, which our preferment gives us, since each has a double share and enjoys as much his friends honour, as his own. They, who are Successively Consuls, have that dignity twice, but then it is at several times : Whereas we are twice Consuls in the same year, once for our selves and once for each other.

92. How remarkable was it that while we were Prefects of the Treasury you gave us the Consulship before you appointed our Successours ? One dignity was endow'd with another, and our honour was not barely continued, but even doubled. And as if it had been too mean a favour at the close of one office to have remov'd us to another, your bounty prevented that occasion, and heap'd on us a new one before the former expir'd. So great was the confidence you repos'd in our integrity, that you resolv'd it most convenient, after our acquitment in so publick a Station, not to strip us of all employ, nor to reduce us to private men. Farther, you were pleas'd to assign us Consuls for part of the same year, wherein you your self had begun the office. The

Annals

Annals shall therefore record our names in the same roll with yours, and the remainder of the year shall bear date from us, as the beginning did from you. To doe us the greater honour you were pleas'd to sit President at our Election, and to perform those Ceremonies, which custome at that time has made requisite. We were made Consuls by your judgement, and pronounc'd so by your voice: That you, who voted for us in the Court, might as well afterward declare us in the field. But what a more eminent act of grace was it, that you resign'd us the Consulship in that very month which was made glorious by your thrice happy birth! That we might have the honour to sign that Edict, and give order for those shews, which were to solemnize that memorable * day which took from us the worst of Princes, gave us the best, and brought forth a better than the best. We shall amidst this Jubilee ride triumphant in our Consular Chariot, and surrounded with those shouts and acclamations, that shall be echo'd at your appearance, we shall be even deafned with the vollies of noise, and distracted all around, not be able to determine from which side the louder peals alarm.

* 18th of Septemb. remarkable for the death of Domitian, the Succession of Nerva, and the birth of Trajan.

93. But above all it exacts the greatest acknowledgment, that you will allow us a free and unstinted exercise of that authority, you have committed to us. No threats, no terrour from the Prince does either break our courage, or pervert our resolutions. Nothing shall be spoken against our wills, nothing decreed against our judgments. The just respect to persons so intrusted is kept sacred, and still likely to be inviolate; nor are we debar'd the liberty of securing our rights, if Majesty it self should attempt to encroach them. And therefore if the Consulship under our discharge lose any thing of privilege, it is the fault of us, not of the times. For as to the Prince, Consuls may be such as they were, while Supreme Governours, before the reduction of Monarchy. What answerable return of thanks can we make for all these favours, but onely to remember that we are Consuls, and Consuls of your creation! Let us therefore so debate, so enact as our Character requires. Let us so behave our selves, as if subjection to such a Prince were the most perfect state of liberty. Let us divide neither our Counsels nor endeavours.

deavours. Let us think our selves involv'd in the same concern, engag'd to the same duties, and let us purchase the same eminence in care and industry, which we justly claim in dignity and respect.

94. To shut up my discourse, I humbly intreat those Guardians and Supervisers of our Empire, the Gods, and more especially I beg of you Supreme *Jove*, that you would confirm those blessings, you have bestow'd, and make your favours the more endearing by a long and long continuance of them. You heard our imprecations against the worst of Tyrants, hear as readily our prayers for the best of Princes. We do not weary nor persecute you with devotion, we pray not severally for peace, for concord, for safety, for wealth, or honour, but all these are sum'd up in that single petition, which craves the preservation of our Prince. Nor do we herein implore, what you are unaccustom'd to bestow. For you have shelter'd him under your protection ever since that time you snatch'd him from the talons of a griping Vultur. It was not without your providence that amidst those storms, wherein all that was high, was rudely shock'd
and

and batter'd, he who stood most exalted, escap'd all blast and tempest. He was unobserv'd by the worst of Princes, who could not be pass'd over by the best. You gave us a proof of your judgment of him, when you entitl'd him (in his march toward the Army) to your own name, your own honour. You, speaking by your Representative the Empeurour, did adopt to him a Son, to us a Parent, and to your self a *Pontifex Maximus*. Wherefore with the more full assurance of being heard, I humbly pray in that form, which he himself prescrib'd, if he Govern well the Republick, and consult the good of all; first, that you would prolong his life, and deliver him down as one continued blessing to our childrens children: Then that you would give him a late Successour of his own loins, who should be as happy by birth, as he himself was by adoption, or if your providence deny this, be you of Counsel in his choice, and direct him to such a one, who may deserve to be adopted in the Capitoline Temple.

95. How much I am indebted to your Lordships is Chronicled in our publick records. You have given me a credential

tial testimony of my peaceableness in the Tribuneship, modesty in the Pretorship, and constancy in that Province, you impos'd me, to plead in the defence of our Allies. Farther, you approv'd my designation to the Consulship with so many joyfull expressions, that it is made my duty to endeavour I may so husband and improve your favours, that they shall not seem to be ill bestow'd. For certain whether a person deserves an honour, can never be so safely judg'd, as after he has attain'd it. Do you but countenance my attempts, and believe that, if I were ever advanc'd by that dissembling Tyrant before he betray'd his hatred to the good, if after he own'd it, I declin'd his service; if when I saw the most compendious road to preferments was by ill arts, I chose the honester, though the farther wayabout: If in bad times I were numbred among the criminals and condemn'd, if in good among the innocent and secure: Finally if I as much love the best of Princes, as I were hated by the worst: Then shall I ever serve your Lordships, not as one who is Consul, nor as a person that has been so, but as him, who is always a submissive Candidate for that office.

T H E E N D.

